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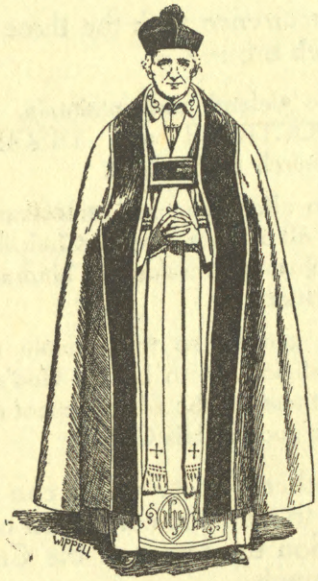

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REPORT OF THE FIRST ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS

LONDON, 1920

WITH PREFACE BY THE REV.
DARWELL STONE, D.D.
PRINCIPAL OF PUSEY HOUSE, OXFORD

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

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I

PREFACE

By Darwell Stone

It falls to my lot, since I have been Chairman of the Subjects Committee, to write a word of preface to the collection of papers read at the Anglo-Catholic Congress held in the Albert Hall on June 29 and 30 and July 1, 1920. The main aims of the Congress—"to bring men and women to a true realisation of our Lord Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour and King," to extend "the knowledge of Catholic Faith and Practice at home and abroad" as a means of promoting a right relation to God, the demonstration of the place of Catholicism within the English Church—are, it may be hoped, sufficiently clear in the papers themselves. The subjects were chosen on a definite plan so as to form a systematic series with an orderly sequence of thought. The outlook of the historic faith on the criticism and speculation of the day seemed so central and vital that it could not be given any other than the first place in the considerations of the Congress; and after this essential preliminary, the proclaiming of the Church's message in evangelising the world and in strengthening and expanding the kingdom of God naturally came next. The need of a positive foundation made it necessary to consider the claims of authority in regard to belief and discipline, the limits within which differences may be tolerated, and the ideal which we must keep in view. The problems raised by the divisions of Christendom led to the papers on the Roman Catholic Church, the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, other Christian bodies, and on the witness of the English Church, with the hope of promoting the progress towards a restored Christian unity. Different aspects of corporate religion were considered in the papers on the sacrifice of the altar, the reserved Sacrament, the faithful departed, and the saints and angels; and under the heading of personal religion, prayer and Communion, meditation and mysticism, retreats, and the religious life claimed attention. Thus for those who were able to take part in the whole Congress there was a gradual ascent from the intellectual thought at the beginning to high forms of devotion at the end. The last meeting of the Congress was of a somewhat different character: an attempt was made in it to deal with the pressing question of the Church's relation to the social and industrial problems of the day. In this published report, two sermons, one

preached at the beginning of the Congress, the other at its close, have been included.

It was not designed that the papers should exhibit elaborate arguments in defence of the convictions held by the writers. Rather, the hope was that they might supply clear and simple statements to explain and elucidate in as uncontroversial a manner as possible the beliefs which are the foundation of devout life and earnest enterprise. In so far as they have tended to increase knowledge, to strengthen faith, to preserve hope, and to deepen love, they have done the work for which they were intended.

The papers are the outcome of a common faith. They express what the writers believe to be the truth which God has revealed and has made to be the indestructible heritage of the Catholic Church. As Catholics the writers have desired to be a mouthpiece through which may be declared what they have learnt from the Church, their Mother. In consequence the papers represent a great agreement in belief and aim. It does not follow that on every detail not part of the faith, the writers think or have spoken exactly alike. Possibly in every paper there may be some sentence which some other reader would have wished different.[1] So far as this is the case, it may serve to illustrate the fact that there are many questions round about the faith concerning which there is not the same obligation as in regard to the faith itself.

By one of those happy unanticipated thoughts which in a right religious atmosphere come to men's minds, the Congress became the occasion of a great collection of money, amounting to many thousand pounds, for the missionary work of the Church. In this fact may be seen the outward token of the deepest purpose of those by whom the Congress was arranged.

September 11, 1920.

[1] To take an illustration from the first paper, Professor Turner tells me that he is very willing that I should give as an instance the opinion which he expresses on pages 28, 29, that the Fourth Gospel, while in his own belief by an eye-witness of our Lord's ministry and in any case not later than the period from A.D. 90 to A.D. 120, is the work of some other Christian than St. John the Apostle. There are theologians and critics who still hold that St. John the Apostle was the author of the Gospel. For a recent instance, see Bishop Gore, *The Epistles of St. John*, pp.39–43.

II

SERMON

PREACHED BY THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY, AT ST. ALBANS, HOLBORN, ON JUNE 29, 1920

"And there was a cloud that overshadowed them: and a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is My beloved Son: hear Him. And suddenly, when they had looked round about, they saw no man any more, save Jesus only with themselves."—*St. Mark* ix. 7, 8.

THE Transfiguration, I need not of course remind you, occupied a central position of immense importance in our Divine Lord's life and work. The overshadowing cloud and the dazzling glory parabled two experiences that met and blended there. There was the flash of glory, the passing triumph, and over against it—the condition of victory—for it is always the condition—the vision of the Cross.

It was a central moment. St. Peter had just made his great confession, that splendid act of faith that won those words of benediction which lifted him to the high place he filled in the apostolic group—words that seem echoing round us to-day as we celebrate his feast.

I. What was the effect, do you think, upon the heart of Christ? Surely a great Thanksgiving possessed His soul. He had done with the past; one phase of His earthly ministry was over. He had educated the twelve, enlightened their eyes, and conquered their prejudices, so far as to elicit that great acknowledgment, in which He saw the permanence of the faith He taught, the ministry He commissioned, the vision of a Church that was to guard the one and perpetuate the other; and then, against all that, the future, with the condition of its accomplishment, for the future meant a Cross.

There are such moments in the lives of most of us, when we stand, as He did, between the past and the future. Behind us the progress made, the mercies received, the victories won, and before us the new calls and claims to braver effort, to a more heroic sacrifice, to a more Christ-like spirit, to the triumph of all triumphs the grandest and most fruitful—the triumph of a cross.

Is it different with a movement? It seems to me that what you are here to-day to represent means just such a blending of contrasted experiences. Thanksgiving: surely there is cause above all for thanksgiving. Think how many eyes have desired

to see what you see, to worship as you worship, but it was denied them. The difficulties of the moment must never blind us to the mercies of the past. Thanksgiving is the best antidote to irritation and depression. Nowhere else than at the Eucharist could you possibly meet in preparation for the Congress, if you are to face it rightly. In the spirit of thanksgiving, at once the ground of confidence and the spring of effort, you are met. To look back, as some amongst us are old enough to look back, to those dark days of the "seventies," when prejudice and passion and an almost frenzied Parliament denied the privileges that pass unchallenged now, when Dean Church could write, and surely they were prophetical words:

"The Church of England at the beginning of the year stood for the strongest and most hopeful Church in Christendom, with much excess and folly in it, as in all human things that are alive, reclaiming, consoling, binding-up, the only work for which a Church ought to live, teaching men to worship and rejoice in the unseen goodness and glory. But now the ignorance of some, the self-will of others, the suspicion and injustice of even good men, have brought things to this pass: that those who for fifty years have steadily disbelieved in a break-up, have now come to look at it face to face"—

to listen to that wise, brave voice from the past, speaking under clouds and passing depression, and then to look round at things as they are, is surely to be ashamed of our faithlessness; to anticipate with hope whatever the future has in store for us, or the future may demand from us, the new calls to strength, to patience, to restraint, to braver sacrifice, to calmer trust and a more unshaken faith in the mission of the Church that has weathered so many storms and shown such wondrous powers of recovery. Surely it all means that, unconsciously, we are standing on the Mount of Glory, waiting for the transfiguration of a movement that sometimes seems to be growing a little cold, and a faith that is a little weakening, perhaps arguing less and praying more—for it was as Jesus prayed He was transfigured,—standing midway between the past so full of mercy and the future with its claims and problems and sacrifices and yet certain triumph, because so full of a cross.

It is because I feel strongly that you have come to such a moment—that the trials and difficulties and problems of to-day are meant to nerve and brace and inspire you, as well as to call you to sit down and mend your nets—that I am here to-day in response to an invitation I could not but most readily accept; and I think you will forgive me if, on such an occasion as this, I say that I find it quite impossible to confine within the ordinary limits of a sermon at the Eucharist what I have in my heart most frankly, most respectfully, and I may add, most affectionately, to say.

When nine years ago I left London for Salisbury, after spending many years as a London priest, and ten as a London bishop, I made a resolution that for a term of years I would neither speak nor preach

in London, but devote myself as a work-a-day Bishop—which is all I claim to be—to the large country diocese with its conditions that were so strange to me, and to which, rather late, I fear, in life, I found myself sent. To-day I am relaxing quite deliberately that rule, because I feel the occasion of your Congress is of so critical a character, so opportune in its occurrence, and fraught with such great and far-reaching issues, not only for yourselves but for the whole Church of England, that to refuse would have been faithless, not only to old friends of long standing, with whom I was at one time closely associated, but far more—faithless to our Lord, to His Church, and to the position that I fill as a Bishop of the Church of God.

You will forgive me if I say just this word about myself. It may be accepted as an answer to some remonstrances and criticisms, with which I do not find any fault whatever, which have been addressed to me, based largely upon an entire misconception of the purpose of your gathering, else most unfair, because denying to you what is readily conceded to other sections of thought in the Church. Let me say this: that while I am conscious of my limitations, for I am no controversialist either by temperament or experience, nor liturgical scholar, nor expert on ceremonial questions, on which you could teach me, rather than I teach you; still, if I thought for a moment that there was any body of devoted priests in the Church of England whom I, untrammelled and unpledged as I am to-day, must for some mysterious reason be precluded from addressing, I should feel a total inability to continue a moment longer in the office which I fill. I should feel that we had exchanged the position of a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ for a collection of varied and contradictory opinions, only held together by the flimsy cord of an established position which has surely almost reached its breaking-point.

Were it actually true that bishops and priests had so drifted apart that the one could not address the other (and indeed I am here to-day because I regard such a drifting apart as the worst feature of the position of the English Church); were it really true that any policy of deliberate exclusion from the higher ministries of the Church existed, whether in Church or State, I venture to submit that for such a Church to discuss reunion with other bodies outside its boundaries, while contentedly acquiescing in that position, would be a travesty of unity, an almost audacious proceeding to call on others to come and share so hopelessly a divided house, and indeed a strange commentary on the boasted elasticity of the English Church.

I believe that you are right to hold this Congress. I know that it is not meant to be an armed demonstration, or a controversial challenge, or an attempt to take some desired position by storm, or to gain some advantage hitherto denied you, or to condemn the opinions of other people, or to bring pressure to bear upon another assembly—a futile and foolish policy; but that you are here to close up your own ranks, to make it clear what you stand for, to

exercise—I hope you will forgive the suggestion—some internal discipline, to declare that you are what you are because you believe that the English Church has her own vocation and position and mission in Christendom, which you as a body, repudiating reckless and ignorant charges of disloyalty, desire with all your heart to help her to fulfil, and that this mission means the evangelisation of the world, the maintenance of the Faith, and the conversion of the nation to Christ.

Am I not right when I say that, believing this, you are assured that your rightful place is where God has placed you, ministering at the altars of the English Church, where you are free to "declare the whole counsel of God," and to assert emphatically and distinctly—and forgive me if I say not too much complicated and encumbered by matters of detail,—to indicate the spiritual character of the Church which at this moment is in jeopardy, and which no State interference, no chilling Erastianism, can ever be allowed to impair?

II. What is true of the Transfiguration as a whole, is also true of the details of the narrative. "A cloud overshadowed them." Is it otherwise now? Has there ever been a period in the history of the Church when the Church was spiritually alive and there was no such cloud? At this moment we are perhaps specially conscious of overshadowing clouds, and it is because I know you are conscious of my real sympathy with your difficulties, my brothers, that I am speaking to you this morning. It may seem, I think it does seem, to some of us, that the freshness and light and warmth of the Anglo-Catholic Movement you represent is sometimes in danger of growing a little dim and cold; that there is not quite the same enthusiasm, the same burning zeal, the same individual missionary spirit, the same passion for souls, the same active share in the evangelisation of the world, not quite the same readiness to say what Dean Church said in those dark days of long ago:

"There is no more glorious Church in Christendom than this inconsistent English Church, nor one that has shown such wonderful proofs of Christian life."

There are clouds—dark clouds; there is anxiety. Some who love the Church they have served so long do fear as they enter the cloud.

Let us look at the clouds, for, like clouds in nature, they do not only conceal—they reveal. They witness to forces, more or less powerful, which are behind them, and which make and shape them what they are.

What are the clouds? Some are not of our own making, some are. The light that there is to set against them is shown through the revival of worship, the devotionally realised communion of saints, the increased reverence, in our restrained English way, for the Blessed Mother of our Lord, the remembrance of the departed; the change in public sentiment and feeling that accepts gladly and reverently the Symbol of the Passion in the centre of town or

village life, and has little patience with the narrow prejudice that the war has killed and buried. Above all, the Blessed Sacrament given its rightful place, not only as the most sacred means of grace, but as the highest Act of worship. In spite of all this brightness, what are the clouds that overshadow us?

(*a*) Is it not a cloud that in the passionate desire for Christian unity we are being hurried into individual experiments, quite as irregular and self-willed as any of those irregularities which critics are so ready to condemn; that the undisguised purpose of some is, quite frankly put, not reform, but revolution; or, as it was expressed to me the other day, it is a case of Tradition *versus* Revelation? When I asked on what authority the new revelation rested, I got no answer. We are being asked quite deliberately to tear up all those inspiring traditions that have grown up through the centuries about the Church of England and endeared it to thousands of earnest souls. There is no mistaking what is asked, for it was said quite plainly the other day by one of the responsible leaders of the Church, that the new departures must mean a break with the past; that means a new and not only a revived Church of England.

We must make no mistake. Under cover of the passion for unity, which we all in our hearts desire, which many of us have for years sought by methods now covered with contempt, we are being threatened with the obliteration of those distinctive marks which identify the Church of England as a true part of the Catholic Church of Christ, and without which the language of the Ordinal becomes entirely unreal, and the rules which the Church of England has deliberately adopted become of no binding force whatever.

We are asked to banish almost contemptuously the vision of a larger unity, without which our Lord's words can never be realised, and to place outside the limits of this longed-for union millions of those, East and West, who own with us one Lord, one Creed, one Baptism; rather than by prayer, and patience, to wait until, in the union not of a part or a fragment, but the whole of the Christian world, and the breaking down of any refusal that blocks the way, our Lord's words can be completely realised. It is useless to disguise the position. An article by a distinguished Nonconformist in a recent review has made it perfectly plain. The Church of England is called upon to place herself as merely one amongst those bodies of Christian people which have separated themselves from us and maintain that separation, though the reasons for it have long disappeared.[1]

How long would such a union last? Where could be the reality? where the sincerity?—when, on the great questions of the moment,

[1] This Sermon was preached before the Lambeth Conference met, and the Preacher desires to say that the decisions and resolutions on the subject of Reunion do not in his view realise the fears which he has expressed in his Sermon. Those decisions, responsible and anxious as they must be, were so evidently under the guidance of the Holy Spirit that they demand, not criticism, but careful thought, earnest prayer, and united effort.

the national status of the Church, the religious training of the children, the new question of authorisation in place of ordination—there are few signs of agreement. Only terms which can mean nothing less than the abandonment of the hope that the English Church may, under God, become the reconciler of a divided Christendom. To say it is impossible, is to say that the prayer of our divine Lord can only be partially fulfilled. Yes, disunion is bad in itself and in its effects, but who can say that unreality, a concordat based on sentiment, even the noblest sentiment, but not on principle, is not even worse? Only do not be content with a negative position, with a mere *non possumus* attitude. The rôle of the Anglo-Catholic is not obstruction, the opportunity is too great, the responsibility too heavy. Pray and strive, not deterred by all the wild schemes which men put forward, that some method may be revealed to us, so that, without impairing the ancient Faith and Order, the prayer of our divine Lord may indeed be triumphantly answered.

(*b*) Again I submit to you, is it not an overshadowing of the national life that between Church and State a gulf of difference is steadily widening, that within the last few weeks a blow has been dealt in the Upper House of Parliament at that sanctity and permanence of the marriage bond upon which the home life of the nation rests; by the idea of marriage as a temporary arrangement, not a lifelong Sacramental union, and that not by the will of the people of England, for the House of Lords does not represent the people, nor has it received any mandate from the people, and with that the demand that the marriage service of the Church, based throughout upon the permanence of the marriage tie, is not only to be used for cases of re-marriage after divorce, but is to be followed by the violation of the conscientious convictions of the men to whose guardianship the highest privileges of the Church have been solemnly entrusted, by the admission of the most flagrantly guilty person to Communion, should he demand to be admitted?

For less reason than this the Free Churchmen of Scotland in the days of the disruption went out to champion the spiritual rights of the Church. One cannot but ask anxiously, but not despairingly, how long before we are able to say, that with a great price we have obtained our freedom?

(*c*) But there is a darker cloud than this, beside which all other difficulties are almost insignificant, but of which they are in a measure the natural result. I mean the present religious, or rather, irreligious, condition of the nation: the alienation and indifference of all classes to Christ. The quiet contempt for organised religion in any shape or form, the neglect of prayer and worship and sacrament, and the growing refusal, of even some earnest Churchmen, to allow that the Church is anything more than a Department of the State; in no sense from above, with no spiritual independence whatever, to take its orders from Parliament, and to be just what Parliament makes or allows it to be. Can such a

view meet the needs of the moment? Can it supply the great spiritual impetus the nation needs so sorely?—for the need is terrible. For five years the nation has passed through the fires of discipline, and all the time we clung, I venture to think, to an unreasonable hope that we should emerge from a very hell of war, a stronger, better, more God-fearing people.

And now what do we find? Our hopes and plans in fragments round us. Religious indifference never more indifferent, immorality never more flagrant, social disaster never more threatening. Surely there has seldom been a moment when the nation needed more a united English Church, mending the rents in her own garments as the first duty that belongs to her. Never was time worse for widening divisions or provoking controversies, and, above all, never could we less afford to be silent while the plain words of Christ are explained away, or said to be at the interpretation of each age as it comes, on no higher authority than the opinion of individual interpreters.

It is the darkest cloud—until it clears away there can be no real transfiguration or illumination of the national life; but it suggests our duty, and warns us lest in insisting on points, however beautiful and helpful, that are not of primary importance, we forget the supremest need of all.

Speaking of Dr. Pusey after his death, the late Lord Salisbury said:

"It was Dr. Pusey's fate to be engaged in a double task. He was deeply involved in the controversies of his day, but the highest work he did was as a defender of the Christian Church as a whole, a defender of the 'Faith once given to the Saints.' It was as a champion of the Church of eighteen centuries that he lived and worked, and not simply as a fighter in one of the transient conflicts which from time to time divide the Church."

That, and nothing less, is our task. I put it to you—you may not in the least agree with me,—it is a task, surely, in which Catholics and Evangelicals should be able to combine; it is more than a question of this method or that method, this form of devotion or another; it is a question of an answer to the challenge that we are to set up our own interpretation, however far removed from the plain sense of the words, upon the truth as it was given us by Jesus Christ Himself.

III. "The cloud overshadowed them." Yes, but it was a bright cloud, as St. Matthew says: and in all our difficulties a bright light is shining. It is the light of the Purpose for which we are sent, and for which the Church exists.

"A voice came out of the cloud," and then the vision of the Figure of which it spoke; and before that purpose, that Figure, all lesser questions faded and grew dim. "They saw no man save Jesus only."

The overshadowing clouds; do they hide that purpose? do they conceal that Figure? Shall we allow them to hide or conceal it?

It is ours, this purpose. The voice speaks to us, recalling us to the things that matter most. That purpose can be, but dare not be, forgotten. Ours it is to win the nation back to Christ, and to win the world for Him—ours to show that splendid combination of the evangelistic spirit and apostolic faith and order for which Arthur Stanton stood, the echoes of whose voice seem to ring around this pulpit, as well as others like him, with whom I was privileged to work—George Body and George Wilkinson—in their splendid vindication of Catholic evangelism. Forgive me if I ask you: Are we ourselves won really and truly to Christ? It may seem an audacious thing to say to you, but you will not blame me for it if I ask you: Are we really won to Christ ourselves by fervent devotion, by personal adoration, by more wrestling prayer, by closer and closer sacramental union? In our controversies, have we in very truth the spirit of Christ? Are we determined that in our Congress discussions we shall before the Church and the world express that spirit?

We may believe that we have the mind of Christ, but the test comes here: Have we the character of Christ, in the tone and temper of our discussions, in the refusal of bitterness and recrimination and provocation? Have we the spirit, the tenderness, the restraint, the patience, the consideration of Christ, that will look out patiently on the masses aloof from us who do not understand us, and say, as He said: "I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now"?

It is sometimes said that the bishops have always blocked the way of progress; that if they had had their way, very few of our privileges would have survived to-day. Well, be it so, but how is it that in spite of that hindrance, the age of persecution has passed and the new day dawned?

It was not argument that won the day; it was not self-will, it was not declamation, it was not protest; it was just Faith and Courage—it was Character. They stood firm. They took up their position on the solid ground of the right interpretation of the Book of Common Prayer. They were strong in faith, but they were tender and patient. They blamed the bishops, but they recognised that to throw over their authority with no other concrete and possible authority to substitute for it meant chaos, and could only leave the old ship of the English Church rudderless to drift on the rocks.

And so they won, and they left behind them the heritage of a stronger faith and an enriched worship, which you are now free to enjoy. They saw the light of truth. They clung to the purpose. They beheld the dominating Figure. "They saw no man save Jesus only."

"He that regardeth the clouds shall not reap." I am speaking to you, some of you, in the very noon-day or early morning of your ministry, and I am speaking to you as one round whom the mists gather, the mists of the night when no man can work, and I pray

you do not let us allow the clouds to hide the Purpose, to obscure that Figure. It is possible—fatally possible. Controversy may be necessary, but it is perilous unless a man is living extraordinarily near to God. In the intervals of our controversies we ought to go into retreat. It is a wise missionary priest who teaches the faith —there is nothing else that he can do—but has his eye on the prejudices, the conditions, the susceptibilities of the race amongst whom he works; and the English nation has its prejudices, its susceptibilities, if you like its unreasoning nervousness, its ingrained Protestantism. How are you going to win it? Not by flourishing phrases or forcing methods; not by only considering the band, more or less great, of those faithful people, that means so much to a parish priest, I know, in sympathy and encouragement; not in that band of young men who serve the altar and make your glorious opportunity and your tremendous responsibility; not by rejecting authority, even if authority is unreasonable, or harsh, or inconsistent, or reactionary.

Believe me, there is only one way, and, knowing your works and your labour of love, feeling that I am speaking to men who are moved to their depths by personal devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ, I know that you are endeavouring to lead your people by that way: it is to present Christ to the people, to love Him, to reflect His spirit; not only to teach about Him, but to reveal Him; not only to adore Him, as we must adore Him, but to know Him with an ever-deepening knowledge; and, when things go wrong, to refuse to be depressed by overshadowing clouds, or to be irritated or provoked, or driven into measures which in your calmer moments you would not adopt, but just to fix your eyes on the light that is shining through the clouds, of the great Purpose that belongs to us all; hearing the Commission He has given you, and gives still, every time you kneel, as we shall kneel directly, in His most Holy Presence, and then go out to your duties and back to your parishes in busy towns or lonely villages—and I know how many village clergy are with you in spirit to-day—to be so true to His spirit, so to reflect the Christ, that the world will say—and when the world has begun to say it, we shall have begun to win the world—" One thing, at any rate, is true about those men—we do not quite see their methods; we do not understand them, they have not explained them—but one thing is clear, they do seem to see no man, but Jesus only."

III

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHURCH

A. THE FAITH AND MODERN CRITICISM

By Cuthbert H. Turner

Catholicism and Anglicanism; the Church and the individual Christian; stability and progress—these are the three antinomies, or pairs of apparent opposites, involved in the general title of our Congress, and in the particular question of the Faith and Modern Criticism. We who are members of the Anglo-Catholic Congress have met together on the one hand to express our deep sense of loyalty to the Catholic Church of Christ—its faith, its traditions, its ideals—and on the other hand to reiterate our adhesion, through and within that One Church, to the great branch of it which, if it has a claim to be part of the Catholic Church, has therewith and thereby an exclusive claim on the allegiance of English Christians. This first problem, then, of the relation of the local church, or local and racial groups of churches, to the Church at large, underlies the whole business of our meetings. But the companion problems, the relation of the function of the individual member of Christ to the function of the body of Christ, and the relation of the element of stability and permanence in Christianity to the element of development and progress, lie in any case very near at hand, and we must have some notion of their import before we can profitably discuss the subject set down for our first consideration this afternoon.

In one form or another the pull of these contrary tendencies affects us through every department of life. Free agents, we are yet conditioned by our upbringing and our surroundings. And human nature is so constituted, it would seem, that there is in each of us that which welcomes and that which resents change. The one element or the other may not be easily apparent, but it will crop up in some unexpected corner: the most persistently liberal colleague—whether in matters political or social or literary or ecclesiastical—that I ever knew, was found to object to the purchase of a Continental *Bradshaw* by the society to which we belonged, because he said that it was an established custom that our rooms should be without one. We are all of us, somewhere and somehow, both radical and conservative.

Now religion is surely just that department of life where we feel

most keenly the need of what is permanent and unchanging. *Inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te.* In the midst of the tossing tides, the ebb and flow of earthly things, the anchor stands fast—" Thou art the Same " ; " Jesus Christ the Same yesterday and to-day and for ever." And if the Church is the Body of Christ, then some reflection of the unchanging Lord must be found in its unchanging faith and life : and believing that this aspect of truth is in danger at these times of being overlooked, we are met together, I suppose, first and foremost to testify our conviction that continuity and stability are the essential basis of the life of the Christian Society, that the one Church is prior to all its diverse local and partial manifestations, that the multitude of the disciples can make some rightful claim over the single disciple, that the full endowment of sacramental gifts is poured by the Spirit of Christ on to His Body, and mediated to individuals through the hands of an Apostolic Ministry.

Nevertheless, this is only part of the truth and not the whole. Life, the life of Godhead itself, does not mean stagnation, but movement. The Kingdom of God upon earth is always experiencing a process of self-realisation, of advance towards a goal unattained until the consummation of all things. Whenever the Church has been doing its work most fully, at whatever periods it has set itself most faithfully to retrieve its failures, there has been a noise and shaking, a tingling in the blood, a seething and fermenting as of new wine. There will always be fresh adventures for the sons of the kingdom, new ground to be won and occupied : but are they going to plant there the banner of their country, their *bona patria*, the *civitas Dei*, or their own ? And as with individuals, so with individual churches. There will always be distinct lines of development, separate contributions to be made to the common stock, whether for the Church of England, or for the Church of India, or for the Church of Central Africa, or for the Church of Rome. There is a real type of Anglican religion, worthy of our whole-hearted admiration so long as it is remembered that it is not the only type. There is a real function for Anglicanism, without which Catholic Christianity would not be complete—but only if we are humble enough to recognise that, though we have things which others lack, we also lack things which others have ; so that neither " they without us," nor we without them, can be " made perfect."

Especially in this subject of the Faith and Modern Criticism does the burden seem to be laid on us, English Christians and Catholics, of trying to arrive at a just discrimination between the rights and duties of the historical critic and of the teaching Church. Protestant individualism will tell us that the critic's one and only responsibility is to intellectual truth as he sees it, and that there is no place for authority in this matter, if indeed in religious matters at all. The Roman Church will tell us that the Church has no less authority in matters of criticism than in matters of faith, and, wherever criticism may indirectly affect faith, is no less bound

to exercise it. So quite recently the articles contributed to a French *Dictionnaire Apologétique* by the Abbé Touzard have been condemned at Rome, because it is not " safe " to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch ; and the Abbé has made a " very edifying " submission. Yet we know that Moses was not the author of the Book of Deuteronomy.

It is not easy to reconcile a stubborn assertion of the unchanging faith with readiness to assimilate the acquired results of criticism. But the Christian religion itself is built up on apparently irreconcilable opposites, and the process of reconciliation has never been attempted without friction, and can never be finally adjusted. God is One, but yet the Christian revelation teaches us that He is also Three in One : Christ is truly Man, but yet Christians know that their Redeemer is not less than God in Man : the work of Christ is an Atonement made for us, and nothing else can satisfy our religious need, yet an Atonement made simply for us would violate our moral sense, if the work were not also with us and in us : man's freedom and God's grace are equally fundamental : our Lord has given His Church a ministerial priesthood, but He has also, by the unction of the Holy Spirit in confirmation, consecrated a priesthood for all believers. Therefore the effort to give due weight on the one side to the inherited tradition of the Church to the claim of the body to condition and control its own members, and to recognise on the other side the prerogative of knowledge, the service which the thinker or historian or critic can render to his fellows, in doing which he has primarily to respond to a call as it comes to him, to follow the light as he sees it—this effort may strain our capacities for the moment ; but the situation which calls for the effort is of a piece with the general paradox of the Christian religion. For the building up of the faith there will always be needed a continual interaction of the conscious effort of individuals interpreting the common tradition, reaching out to new aspects of inherited truth, and of the judgment, generally silent, of the community, digesting, assimilating, adopting—but also rejecting.

Between the two first subjects which this Congress is invited to consider in their relation to the faith—criticism and speculation—there is one broad distinction to be drawn at the outset. For, whereas philosophical speculation has been busy with the mysteries of the faith from the days of the Fathers onwards, and not least at the hands of the great systematisers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries whom we know as the Schoolmen, historical criticism as applied to the origins of Christianity is a development of comparatively recent growth. To the Schoolmen it was wholly unknown ; and it is certainly the most serious deduction we have to make from the greatness of the mediaeval theologians that history meant so little to them.

The Renaissance brought back to the Church the knowledge of

the original languages of the Bible; and the seeds of historical criticism were sown when Erasmus published his Greek Testament in 1516, and Cardinal Ximenes, in the years immediately succeeding, the Complutensian Polyglot of both Testaments. But the seed was long in germinating. By both parties in the Reformation controversy the verbal inspiration of the Bible was assumed, and a verbally inspired Bible must agree completely in all its parts. Moreover, the credentials of the New Testament canon (it is with the New Testament only, not the Old, that I am dealing to-day) were guaranteed for Catholics by an age-long tradition, while the appeal of Protestants was to the Bible, and the Bible only, and nothing must cast doubt upon the authority of the final court. But the evidence of the New Testament was being interpreted in opposite directions by Protestants and by Catholics: and the argument lay near to hand, and was pressed by the scholars of the counter-Reformation, that for the true meaning of the Apostolic writings the testimony of the disciples of the Apostles should be decisive. For this purpose, however, anything less than a Greek original was useless, and early editions of the Apostolic Fathers had been of Latin versions only,[1] so that effective point could not be given to the argument before the publication in 1557 of Greek epistles purporting to be written by Ignatius, and in 1563 of a Greek work in eight books, purporting to be written by Clement at the dictation of the Apostles. The latter work, never before circulated in the West, is familiar to us under the name of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; the other was the correspondence of St. Ignatius in the interpolated form known to the Middle Ages. Here there was nothing to hinder the free entry of historical and literary considerations into the field of theological studies: on the *corpus* of these documents criticism fleshed its maiden sword.

Let any who are distressed at the prevalence of critical methods, that seem to work in endless circles and to arrive at no secure result, find encouragement. These ancient controversies, once waged on almost strictly party lines, have ceased to divide us: problems have really been solved. The Jesuit Turrianus, the first editor of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, propounded the work as a genuine writing of St. Clement; and though Baronius, Bellarmine and Petavius sounded a note of caution, it was left to Protestants to emphasise its wholly apocryphal character. In doing so they dated the book almost as much too late as their opponents dated it too early. No one would now place it with Ussher in the sixth century; no one, on the other hand, would attribute to it any sort of connection with the Apostles. Among recent critics, the latest date, the beginning of the fifth century, is given by the Roman

[1] Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples) published at Paris in one volume in 1498 the Latin pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the Latin pseudo-Ignatius, and the Latin Polycarp; reprinted at Strasburg in 1502, at Venice in 1502, second edition at Paris in 1517. The same editor published the Latin Hermas (with other Revelations) at Paris in 1513.

Catholic, Funk; the earliest date, the middle of the fourth century, by Lightfoot and Harnack. The preliminary questions are finished with; but it is now also recognised that the book is built up out of sources considerably older than itself, and its centre of gravity is being pushed back into a relatively remote antiquity.

Not dissimilar, though the controversy was more acute and more prolonged, is the history of the Ignatian epistles: a claim, on the Roman and Anglican side, of the genuineness and all but Apostolic date of the only form of Ignatius known; hot retort from the other side against the recognition of what Milton described as "tainted scraps," "verminous and polluted rags dropt overworn from the toiling shoulders of Time"[1]; the true solution found, and partial justification of both parties of combatants, in the publication by Ussher of the Latin (1644) and by Voss of the Greek (1646) of seven letters in the original form out of which the interpolated correspondence had been expanded; two centuries and more during which English Puritans and foreign Protestants struggled against the inevitable conclusion; and finally, through the massive arguments of Zahn (1873) and Lightfoot (1885), the close of a long era, and the vindication of the antiquity and genuineness of the seven letters.

Historical criticism began thus to be busy, from about 1600 onwards, with the sub-Apostolic literature, and to learn in that field how to distinguish what was earlier and what more recent, what was genuine and what was spurious: but the Apostolic documents still remained a *terrain* apart. The great Benedictine editions of the Fathers followed one after another, and a serious beginning was made with the textual criticism of the New Testament. Otherwise the eighteenth century carved out no new paths. Whatever tentative efforts may have gone before, the historical criticism of the New Testament seemed to spring into life full-grown less than a century ago.

It is interesting to point out the coincidence of the two great University movements, arising almost simultaneously in Germany and in England, which have so profoundly affected the development of the historical study of Christian origins. On this occasion and to this audience I need not dwell on the debt which English Christianity owes to the Tractarian fathers: I am only concerned to note that they threw the whole weight of their learning and their spiritual power into the appeal to history, to the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church. The movement gave life and reality to Christian tradition, but it was not primarily critical. It took the mass of the literature as it was found in the folios of the Benedictine editors, and studied it with passionate absorption.

Much at the same time as the Tractarian movement was gathering strength in the University of Oxford, a parallel outburst of historical activity brought into fame and prominence the University of a small South German town. But the school of Tübingen, under its

[1] See Lightfoot, *S. Ignatius*, I (1885), p. 231.

illustrious chief, Ferdinand Christian Baur, were not content to take the literature as it stood, and drew no line of reserve at the New Testament. On the contrary they set out, with all the ardour of explorers of an unmapped region, to discover what secrets the earliest Christian literature would yield up if probed with the instruments of a rigorous historical criticism. Philosophers as well as historians, they thought that they had found, in the philosophic formula of a thesis an antithesis and a synthesis, the clue to elicit the inwardness and true meaning of the developments of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age. A primitive Judaic Christianity championed by St. Peter was faced by a counter-conception of Gentile or anti-Judaic Christianity due to St. Paul, and the Catholic Church came into being out of the reconciliation of the two. True, most of the documents, Gospels, Acts, and many even of the Pauline Epistles, seemed to show us the reconciliation already in being and at work. Then those documents must be the products of the reconciliation period ; they were written in the second century, and not necessarily even in the first half of it.

It is easy to criticise a historical theory which began by leaving out of account three-fourths of the documents, and branded them as spurious simply because they did not contain what was wanted. Still, the whole thing was conceived on big lines, and did not, like so much modern criticism, lose sight of the wood for the trees. No wonder that the glamour and genius of it did take hold of and dominate its contemporaries. The process of its disintegration was slow but sure : here one brick, there another, fell out of the structure, as one document after another was rehabilitated, till nothing now remains of it but a shapeless ruin.

Nevertheless, the forces of historical criticism, thus let loose, have gained impetus and momentum until they now affect theological study all over the world. We cannot, if we would, transplant ourselves into a non-historical way of looking at the New Testament. The individuality of the Apostles and Apostolic writers, their different methods of apprehending the Christian message, as well as the common faith and fellowship that bound them in one, are facts of history which must be recognised. If the particular picture sketched by the critics of the Tübingen school sadly lacked perspective and proportion, we of a later generation, with our fuller equipment, must see to it that a better shall be drawn.

And, in fact, the process of inquiry, once started, has been continually revising and correcting its first conclusions, so that the accuracy of ecclesiastical tradition as to the documents which embody the record of Christian origins has in the main been signally vindicated. Harnack, now almost a veteran, is for us the leading figure among German critics ; and Harnack's chronology of the New Testament documents has become rather pronouncedly conservative. The soundest English scholarship had never been carried away by the current which swept Continental theologians off their feet : where the Dutch school exaggerated and caricatured the con-

clusions of their German teachers, our own writers assimilated results more slowly and more cautiously. In certain circles, which supposed themselves to represent the *dernier cri* in theology, there was, of course, before the war a good deal of tendency to think little of anything that was not written in German, and to suppose that the latest German conjecture must be the nearest approach to truth. I do not know know how far this tendency has been scotched by the war, or how far there may supervene as much inclination to under-estimate German critical work as before there was to over-value it. Of the volume of production in Germany (it did not stop even during the war), and of the astonishing industry and erudition displayed in it, no scholarc ould speak without appreciation, no English scholar without envy. But if we do less than our share of original work, yet sanity of judgment and sense of historical congruity are qualities best developed on our side of the North Sea, and we have a part to play in sifting the mass and appraising the grain, while dispensing with the very large proportion of chaff.

The Tübingen writers admitted no Epistles to be genuine save the great group of four anti-Judaising letters—Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans. Since their time the pendulum has swung slowly back, until the acceptance of several more Epistles is general. Among ourselves controversy would practically be limited to the Ephesian and Pastoral Epistles. I cannot but think that almost all the objection taken to Ephesians is at bottom only doctrinal—those to whom the idea of the Church is alien are reluctant to conclude that it was not alien also to the Apostle—and I am convinced that it will sooner or later be recognised that, just as St. Paul taught sacramental doctrine to the Christians at Corinth, so also he taught a doctrine of the Church to the Christians of Asia Minor. Against the Pastoral Epistles the ground of objection is in a certain sense similar: they presuppose some organisation of Church and Ministry, and objectors cannot bring themselves to believe that this can have existed in St. Paul's day, or, at any rate, with St. Paul's encouragement. The case is so far distinct from that of Ephesians that we cannot treat the historical difficulty as quite unreal, and there are besides differences between the Pastorals and the other Pauline Epistles in tone and style and vocabulary. The question is still open, but I am not convinced that criticism has disproved St. Paul's authorship.

The primitive canon of the New Testament included no other Epistles than St. Paul's. The first additions were the two Catholic Epistles, 1 Peter and 1 John, of which the latter of course goes with the Fourth Gospel. As to 1 Peter, the martyrdom of the Apostle at Rome is one of the best established facts of early Christian history, and we have moved a long way from the time when, fifty years ago, an eminent German critic could assume without arguing *der Apostel Petrus ist niemals in Rom gewesen*.[1] The first

[1] R. A. Lipsius, *Die Chronologie der römischen Bischofe*, pref., p. ix.

Epistle suits well enough the historical situation at the outbreak of the Neronian persecution. Even more admirably does the Epistle to the Hebrews fit into known conditions of time and place, when the Christian community of Jerusalem had to face the issue squarely between the abandonment of their Christianity and the abandonment of their city. Criticism which shuts its eyes to such patent historical probabilities stands self-condemned. Only with regard to one document of our New Testament canon must the verdict, as it seems to me, be definitely unfavourable: I cannot think that the so-called Second Epistle of Peter has anything to do with the Apostle, or even, maybe, with the first century after Christ. Perhaps it is part of the providential ordering of things, lest we should pin our faith too rigidly to any one external help, that, just as an apparently impenetrable veil hangs over the name and identity of one of the Twelve Apostles, the princes of the Church, just as at least one pope and one nominally universal council fell into heresy, so also one pseudonymous book should have gained its footing in the canon of the New Testament.

About the book of Acts the revulsion of critical opinion during the last generation, justifying those of us who had always been whole-hearted believers in St. Luke's authorship, has been greater than on any other book of the New Testament—so great, that one may legitimately wonder whether Harnack does not now date the book too early, and Ramsay champion its infallibility too blindly. Anyhow, if the book was written by a disciple and companion of St. Paul, the presumption is with those who assert its substantial trustworthiness. If its accuracy is established in many passing allusions to the contemporary world outside, the presumption is that we shall find it equally accurate in depicting contemporary Christianity from within.

But the core and nucleus of the New Testament is the Gospel. Upon the Fourfold Gospel has rested the faith of eighteen centuries of Christian life. The criticism of the Gospels would therefore always be central; and here, in fact, critical inquiry, whether in attack or defence or simply in research, has during recent years concentrated its resources.

Eighty years ago the problem of the relationship and interdependence of the Synoptic Gospels had not yet been seriously tackled: Baur hardly saw further than St. Augustine. And it needed patient work of many scholars before approximately final results were reached. Some lines of inquiry that at first seemed promising led to nothing: oral tradition, at one time much in favour in England as an explanation of the mixture of resemblance and divergence, has turned out a will-o'-the-wisp. It may now be taken as assured that, whatever other special sources were used by later evangelists, two main documents stand at the head of the tradition—our Second Gospel, the work of Mark, the disciple of Peter, written not after, but probably not very long before, A.D. 70; and a document (known conventionally as Q) which was

less a biography of Christ than a record of His teaching, older perhaps even than St. Mark, and employed by both the First and Third Evangelists in the composition of their Gospels. The Third Gospel hangs together with the Acts, and few of the saner critics would now deny the authorship of St. Luke. Only in regard to the first of the three Gospels has criticism effected a breach in the lines of tradition. It can no longer be maintained that it comes as we have it from the pen of St. Matthew. Yet, on the other hand, it was of all the four so much the most largely used in the primitive Church—for instance, in the writings of Ignatius and of Justin Martyr—that it must have been published not very long after St. Mark. That being so, we cannot lightly dismiss the traditional title, especially as Matthew was not a name, apart from this Gospel, of any particular prominence. Somewhere behind the Gospel as we have it lies, one must suppose, the work of the Apostle Matthew: it may even be that to him we owe the primitive collection of our Lord's sayings of which I have just spoken.

Of course, the analysis of the literary problem does not take us all the way. Words or acts of our Lord recorded in St. Mark or in Q come to us with a surer historical guarantee, but it by no means follows that sayings recorded only in St. Matthew are any less genuine. So much that is both unconvincing and impertinent (for it often rests on no more than the critic's *ipse dixit*) is written in detraction of this or that group of sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, that I commend with the more pleasure to your notice an examination and defence of the Matthaean form of sayings known to us also through St. Mark, contributed by Dr. Sanday to the Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce,[1] in spite of my total disagreement with him on the particular verse which was the starting-point of his inquiry.

I suppose that it would be generally agreed that so far, in dealing that is with the literary problem of the Synoptic Gospels, we have not touched any problems fundamental to faith. To many it may seem otherwise with the Fourth Gospel. In particular the school of *Lux Mundi*—and who is there among us who is not its debtor?—drank so deeply at the wells of the "spiritual Gospel" that it is not easy for them to treat the question of the Apostolic authorship as an open one. But the tendency of recent criticism has been very strongly marked in the negative direction. No one among the "critics" would accept the ascription to John the son of Zebedee, and very few of them would admit that the Gospel possessed any historical value as a biography of Christ. And yet the sum total of divergence is even here sensibly less than it was. Baur's date of A.D. 170 for the Fourth Gospel is to our ears preposterous: the utmost limits of variation between sane critics of all schools would be between A.D. 90 and 120. Defenders of Apostolic authorship will admit that the discourses of our Lord have passed through a fresh medium, in the mind of an evangelist ripe

[1] *Minutes of Evidence*, vol. iii (1912), pp. 240–242.

with the experience of two Christian generations, before they reached their present form: opponents will not deny the supreme importance of the Gospel in reflecting the atmosphere of thought and belief in the opening years of the second century. For myself I should try to go a step or two further still in the path of adjustment. With the one school I should emphatically assert that many of the minute historical details leave all the impression of an eye-witness—such details as also characterise St. Mark but tend to disappear from the pages of St. Matthew and St. Luke.[1] On the other hand I am induced, by the indications which point to Jerusalem and away from Galilee, to believe that the beloved disciple was a youthful Christian of Jerusalem, who moved in the same circle as Nicodemus and the high priests. But there is no question in the history of Christian origins so perplexing as the identity of John of Ephesus, author of the Fourth Gospel: and he would be a bold man who would dogmatise about the answer.

I have sketched in outline the process of modern criticism as it has been applied to the books which enshrine the records of the origin of our faith. There has been something to make us anxious, but there has been more to encourage. So, too, in the questions where criticism touches more directly the contents of the books and the subject-matter of faith. There is an element of difficulty for us, we may have to face modifications of traditional expression, but the foundations stand four-square to all the winds, for they are set upon the rock. In this last culminating section of my paper I shall not try to do more than deal briefly with two burning topics of modern criticism, the apocalyptic conception of the Gospel, and the evidence of our Lord's resurrection.

1. When the twentieth century opened, the Liberal Protestant school of Germany was still dominant: Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, a typical expression of it, was published in 1900. To the critics of that school Christian doctrine is almost reduced to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, Christian ideals to the hope of improving by slow degrees the on the whole excellent and comfortable world in which we live. The supernatural has, as might be expected, little or no place. Jesus becomes a reformer only of an academic type. The other world is kept in the background: it is enough that our place and duty are here and now.

It is passing strange that a conception, savouring so much more of the nineteenth century than of the first, should ever have been thought an adequate representation of the Gospels. Serious study

[1] "Les procédés de la rhétorique des anciens les amenaient aussi à ne point multiplier les noms de personnes et de lieux, à éviter de donner des chiffres exacts": *Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère*, p. 82 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxxviii, 1920), by H. Delehaye. Père Delehaye was not thinking of the Gospels: but the citation illustrates one aspect of the contrast between the literary Gospel of St. Luke and the non-literary Gospels of St. Mark and St. John.

of them was bound to bring reaction, though few could have guessed how trenchant the reaction would be, or how decisive the revolt, at any rate in England and France, against such evisceration of the appeal of Christ.

The new movement may be conveniently dated from the appearance in 1906 of Albert Schweitzer's book, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, a summary of a century and a half of Gospel criticism, the equivalent title in the English translation being *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Schweitzer is the protagonist of a school that minimises just those elements of our Lord's teaching on which the Liberal Protestants had relied, underlines the other-worldliness of the Christian Gospel, emphasises its expectation of a catastrophic end to the present age, and regards any ethical system inculcated by it as no more than a tentative and temporary accommodation to a world under sentence of death. Christ was no professor, but a prophet. Like other prophets of His race and time, He himself anticipated that the coming of the Messianic kingdom would not be long delayed. The generation of His personal followers would not pass away before He should return in power to abolish all existing world-conditions and usher in the reign of His elect.

No more than the conception which it displaced does the apocalyptic theory cover the whole ground of our Lord's recorded message. If He taught in apocalyptic language, suggestive of an imminent end, He taught also in parables which appear to imply a long and gradual development. Yet the theory corresponds at least more closely to the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels than the criticism which had airily dismissed the 13th Chapter of St. Mark with the verdict " it may contain certain genuine utterances," but " we see . . . that it is an apocalypse pseudonymously put into our Lord's mouth." [1] Catholic Christians believe that our Lord did teach detachment from the present world, and did tell His disciples that here they would find persecutions but in the age to come life eternal, and that He would return in glory as Messiah, King and Judge. Is it possible for them also to think that He supposed His return was near, when in fact nearly nineteen centuries have passed and the end is not yet ? Our Lord's own words about Himself must be the foundation of Christian theology about His human nature and the limitations which it entailed : and we may not forget that in this one matter of the Coming He told His disciples plainly that He " knew not." But we are on holy ground : it is enough to have said so much, where fewest words are best.

2. There are deep things, *βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ*, which it is neither within the critic's duty nor his power to plumb : there are others, even things concerning faith, which have their direct contact with historical evidence. Such is, especially, the article of our belief, *Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*, " the third day He rose again from the dead."

You are well aware how persistent have been in recent times

[1] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford, 1911), p. 180.

the attacks upon those who still confess their faith in these words and mean what they say. You know how modernist writers repeat to us, one after another, that " on the third day " is a superfluous detail or an imaginative fiction. So far as the assault on this bastion of the Christian tradition is launched from the ground of dogmatic or philosophical postulates—" the Resurrection cannot have happened as the Gospels describe it, and therefore the Gospels must be wrong "—historical criticism cannot of course deal with it. What historical criticism can do is to show, as I hold it can show beyond possibility of cavil, that Christians from the first believed in the Resurrection in the sense of the empty tomb, and that their faith in it was never expressed in the terms of any other supposition.

For this purpose we may leave aside the testimony of the three later Gospels. It is not disputed. The crucial witness is that of St. Paul and St. Mark.

1. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is of quite undoubted genuineness, and was written at a date ascertainable within very narrow limits—in the spring of 55 or 56. In it St. Paul appeals to teaching which he had given to them among first things, that is, when he was laying the foundations of the Church of Corinth some four years earlier. And what he had taught them then was what he had himself in turn received : the confession " that Christ died for our sins, and that He was buried, and that He was raised on the third day, and that He was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve," was nothing peculiar or individual in St. Paul's Gospel, it was shared by him with those who were in Christ before him and derived by him from them. We are taken back to the time of St. Paul's conversion ; and unless we discredit him as a witness, we cannot refuse his definite testimony to the things most surely believed among the earliest disciples. That this primitive Creed included not only the Death and Resurrection of Christ, but also the Burial, can only have been for the purpose of making it clear that He who was buried rose with that body in which He had been laid in the tomb. If these early Christians had only meant to assert that the Spirit survived the death of the Body, it was superfluous to mention the Burial, and misleading to mention the Third day. But they meant that not only was the Spirit not extinguished, but that the Body, too, though it lay three days in the tomb, was on the third day triumphantly raised. Therefore, whatever theological explanation St. Paul gave of the nature of the Risen Body (and we must remember that, if he declared that flesh and blood could not inherit the Kingdom of God, he also looked for the redemption and glorification of the body, and prayed that the body might be kept blameless at the Second Coming of Christ [1]), it must have been something compatible in his own mind with the common Creed and the belief that the Lord's Body was on the third day raised from the tomb. *Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.*

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 50 ; Rom. viii. 23 ; Phil. iii. 21 ; 1 Thess. v. 23.

2. We pass from one of the earliest Epistles to the earliest Gospel. And here criticism has something to say at the outset which renders our task more difficult. For it tells us, and its verdict cannot be challenged, that St. Mark's Gospel breaks off at Chapter xvi., verse 8, with the words, " for they were afraid." It is certain, of course, that the Gospel of the good news of Jesus Christ the Son of God (Mk. i. 1) did not end on that note : there was something else which has been lost. That loss must have come about, since none of our authorities preserve any trace of the complete text, at a very remote point; indeed, it seems to me demonstrable that neither the First nor the Third Evangelist knew St. Mark in any but its present mutilated form. St. Mark's record, whatever it was, of the Resurrection has irretrievably perished, and no other extant document ever had access to it.

Nevertheless, the remainder of the Gospel itself gives us evidence of two kinds which does to a large extent replace, for the purpose of this inquiry, the lost matter. It gives us the story of Easter morning up to the moment when the women fled from the tomb, and it gives at more than one point in the earlier parts of the Gospel indication of certain things that must have had a place in the lost conclusion.

Before the Gospel breaks off, the story has been told of the visit of the holy women to the tomb, of the absence of the Body that had been laid there, and of the angelic message. Jesus of Nazareth was not there, for He had risen from the dead : Peter and the other disciples were to be told that He was preceding them—as He had promised them (at the Last Supper, xiv. 28) He would do—into Galilee, and that there they would see Him.

Moreover, the rest of the Gospel contains sufficient hints of what the climax was to which the story was leading up. After St. Peter's confession, our Lord begins a new stage in the education of the Twelve ; He unfolds to them the crisis through which He has to pass ; He must be rejected and suffer and die, but He will rise again " after three days " (viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34). Before the high-priest evidence was brought that He had said, " Destroy this Temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will raise up another made without hands " (xiv. 58). At the Last Supper (xiv. 28) He promised the Twelve that, though they would be scattered that night, He would reunite them once more ; just as in the days of awe and anticipation He had gone before them towards Jerusalem (x. 32), so after His triumph He would go before them into Galilee. There, as the angel tells the women (xvi. 7), He would manifest Himself to them. The separate emphasis in this last verse on a message to St. Peter presumably indicates that a separate appearance to St. Peter, such as is recorded by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 5), was contained in the lost conclusion.

Imperfect as it is, our earliest Gospel is built up on the same belief in the Resurrection as the latest. Its implications correspond exactly with the fundamental elements of their fuller story. It

reveals the persistent hold of " the third day " upon the minds of the disciples. This emphasis and the narrative of the empty tomb find their echo in the confession of Christian faith, " He was buried and was raised on the third day from the dead," that was inherited from the first disciples by St. Paul. The Creed rests on the concordant testimony of all our earliest witnesses. No scrap of evidence can be found to suggest that there was ever a stage of Christian belief which did not express itself in the *Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.*

This is the faith of the Church : to us there is no other.

Christianity was not meant to be an easy thing. In acceptance of the Christian Creed, as of the Christian life, there must be a venture upon the part of the believer. If difficulties are solved, we may not expect that new ones will not from time to time be raised. But criticism has a service to render even to faith, and our Christian and Catholic faith can never in the end suffer from it. So, assured that the hand of our God is upon us for good, we " go forward."

III

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHURCH

B. THE FAITH AND MODERN SPECULATION

By A. E. Taylor

> There comes no voice from Thee, O Lord,
> Across the mid sea of the night!
> I lift my voice and cry with might:
>
> . . . . .
>
> There comes no voice; I hear no word!
> But in my soul dawns something bright;
> There is no sea, no foe to fight!
> Thy heart and mine beat one accord;
> I need no voice from Thee, O Lord,
> Across the mid sea of the night.
>
> George MacDonald.

. . . . .

It is assuredly with no careless lightness of heart that I venture to address a few words to a gathering of my fellow-Christians on the task which confronts a Christian philosopher at the opening of the present decade. As far as our mere human foresight can discern, the fate of our Christianity is visibly hanging in the balance. The gravity of the issues between which our age has to choose cannot possibly be exaggerated, and it is of the first importance to us to understand this quite clearly. What is at stake is not merely the confessional formulæ of the Christian past, or the historical accuracy of this or that part of the Scriptural record. I should be the last to underrate the importance of these things, yet I must own that, by the side of the question which much recent and contemporary philosophy raises, they appear to me quite secondary. The battle of the creeds has been always with us; our fathers who saw the rise of modern Biblical criticism and modern evolutionary science heard enough and more than enough of the unprofitable wrangling about "miracles," and the alleged "conflict between religion and science." Yet all these disputes, important as some of them were, might fairly be said to be affairs between outposts. What we have to face is the main battle. It has often enough happened that the most vehement controversies about this or that article of a creed have been waged between antagonists who have differed little, if at all, in their view of the life it is incumbent on a Christian to lead in this world. In the last generation the most eminent of the assailants of the Christian miracles and the traditional beliefs about the Scriptural history—men such as John Stuart Mill and Huxley—were, at least in the main, in sympathy

with the Christian valuation of goods and the Christian ideal of personal conduct. Even those of them who would have felt a scruple about confessing the existence of God did not seriously doubt that our Lord was in possession of the true secret of life; and their curious optimistic faith in the doctrine that each age *must* be wiser and better than any which had gone before, kept them much nearer in spirit than they were aware to the Christian belief in Providence and in the guidance of the Christian community by the Divine Spirit. The very agnosticism of the late nineteenth century, at least in its best representatives, was very much more Christian at heart than either the agnostics themselves or most of their antagonists ever suspected.

The case is very different to-day. What confronts us is a challenge directly thrown down, and thrown down by men of earnestness, high personal aims, and great intellectual distinction, to the whole Christian scheme of values. While too many of us who call ourselves Christians are, with the best intentions in the world, spending our energies in contending for this or that minor point of doctrine, this or that form of devotion, this or that piece of symbolic ritual, our thinking young men are being invited, and invited by teachers who cannot be ignored, to accept as the basis on which to order their lives the convictions that there is no intelligent plan or purpose in the universe, that there is no wisdom or goodness higher than our own, that since at death all a man's thoughts perish, the whole spiritual history of the human race is only the tale of an adventure foredoomed to end in nothing. They are told, too, by persuasive voices, sometimes that there is not even any real distinction between good and bad, only the irrational prejudices of individuals, sometimes that there is indeed a distinction, but that the law of Christ has drawn it in the wrong way, and that the future must set itself to affirm a " transvaluation of all values." Humility, meekness, gentleness, all that Christianity declares to be the " fruits of the spirit," are symptoms of weakness and disease ; pride, self-will, preferring himself in honour before others, these are the tempers of the " strong " man, these are the real virtues.

Now you may perhaps say, " But what has all this to do in particular with the Catholic faith ? These issues belong partly to ethics, partly to natural theology ? How are they relevant to the meditations of an Anglo-Catholic Congress ?" To my own mind they are most relevant, and for more reasons than one. We do well to be attached to confessional summaries of belief born of the Christian experience and proved, through many centuries, to express it. We do well to be anxious not to be deprived of any form of devotion which is of proved aid to sustain the soul's inner life. We do well, even in the external matters of ritual and ceremonial, to neglect nothing which can foster contemplation and interior recollection. Yet we must, if we would be truly catholic-minded, remember that all these things derive from, and express, a

hidden inner life of the Christian community. It creates them; they do not create it. There was a living Catholic Church on the Day of Pentecost before one article of the simplest creed had been formulated; and it was because the Church with its life and active faith was there first that creeds came to be made. There was the Church and its hidden life before there was any *Ordo Missæ* or any ecclesiastical organisation. And we know only too well how it is possible for the Church to retain the whole superstructure of formulæ, hierarchy, and ceremonial in ages in which the life from which they sprang has all but vanished. We cannot remind ourselves too often that it is unhappily only too easy to belong to the body of the Holy Church throughout the world, without being any part of its soul. And it is precisely at the soul of the Church that the atheism and the scepticism about right and wrong which are characteristic of much of the philosophy of the ablest of our younger contemporaries are aiming a deadly blow. Again, I do not for my own part believe in the possibility either of a severance of ethics from religion, or of what is called "natural religion" from Christianity. The love of man is not likely to survive long when the love of God has perished, nor can we learn to love God with all our hearts except from the religion which teaches us that it is in the voluntary humiliation of the Son of Man that the true character of God is discerned. If we care in the right way for Catholic Christianity, if indeed it is more to us than self-worship and the idolatry of our own "tastes," we cannot be content to leave it to the "undenominational" lecturer on morals and the "natural" theologians to save the coming generation of educated men throughout the world from letting God and hope fade out of their lives, while we busy ourselves only with controversy about gestures and postures, vestments and ornaments, or matters of ecclesiastical discipline. To neglect our *first* duty to the world amid which we live would be a signal failure in that which is greater than all these things—charity; and, as I say, if the Christian Church neglects this its first duty, there is no one else by whom it can be properly performed at all.

But the discharge of this duty in our own age is not likely to be an easy matter. No man who knows what the real difficulties of belief in the unseen spiritual order are will ever be inclined to be untender with the souls whom they crush almost to fainting. He will have felt the difficulties too keenly himself for that. As Plato, the first great philosopher to make this belief an integral part of his teaching, said so long ago, "To find the Father and Fashioner of all things, and when you have found Him to display Him to other men, is no easy thing." Perhaps the task has never been harder than it is to-day. There is in the world to-day what there perhaps never was before—an atheistic philosophy which is not intellectually negligible. It is a well-knit, compact, coherent body of thought, utterly hostile to the presuppositions of the interior Christian life, and though one may feel never so convinced

that its tenets, because the reality of the Christian life gives the lie to them, must be capable of being shown to be false, it is anything but easy to find the weak spots in the armour. If I may speak for myself, I find the problem so hard that I have often felt inclined to envy the believers of the early years of the infant Christian Church that simplicity and unawareness that speculative difficulties exist, which made it possible for them, as it can hardly be for any of us to-day, to live the life of faith without any consciousness of the need that faith should justify itself at any bar but its own. I suppose I am not alone in this occasional envy of the proverbial *foi de charbonnier*, or in the feeling that the duty to find a philosophical vindication of one's faith is one of the multitudinous forms of the *atra nox* of the " purgative way."

The Christian philosopher's task, then, must be expected by any man who feels himself called to it, to be an arduous one. We all know how its difficulties tortured the splendid and tragic genius of Blaise Pascal, and which of us dare be over-confident of success where Pascal only achieved a magnificent failure ? Yet to decline the task, and to fall back upon an unreasoned *fides implicita*, would be no less than a disloyalty to Christ. He claims our allegiance to Him with the whole of our thought, not with a mere fragment of it. It is because He claims to be the whole Truth that the faith of His Church must always be a *fides quærens intellectum*. To acquiesce in the view that faith requires us to affirm what reasoned science and philosophy require us to deny ought to be impossible to Christians. We must address ourselves, and that in dead earnest, to the work of showing that it is the affirmations of Christianity, not the contradictions of them, which are really in harmony with the great intellectual presuppositions upon which science itself is built. To defend the faith worthily at the tribunal of philosophy a man must, no doubt, exhibit a rare union of intellectual gifts and graces of character. He must, of course, be adequately instructed in the substance of the Christian faith, and also deeply versed in human science. The past has been only too fruitful of misunderstandings and polemic heats, caused sometimes by the mistaking of popular fancies or even of positions closely verging on actual heresy for the authoritative teaching of the Church, sometimes by taking hasty first hypotheses and speculations for the assured and proved results of science. No common learning and no common familiarity with the sciences will be required if a man is to escape both these sources of error. And to knowledge there needs to be added a rare and beautiful candour, which is not always to be found conjoined with extensive learning and penetrating insight. The man who is to provide Christianity with its philosophical *apologia* must himself, of course, be convinced of the truth of the doctrines he is defending ; yet he must have the patient wisdom to avoid that common error of the apologist—the assumption of the truth of those doctrines as part of the premises of his defence. He must know how to meet his antagonists, not

from his own premises, but from theirs, as Butler, for example, did in the controversy with the Deists of the eighteenth century. Nor is this all. If a man is to produce genuine conviction, it is not enough that he should have scholarship in divinity and in science, and should add to his scholarship absolute candour in dialectic. He must also be able to make men feel that he is not "arguing for victory," that there is an end which is more to him than an intellectual triumph or the successful defence of a venerable historical institution—I mean the true good of his opponents themselves. To be a really great Christian philosopher a man needs also to be a great lover of the souls of men. If our own attempts to defend the Christian cause are not more successful than they are, we may fairly suspect that one chief reason of our failure is that our love for souls is so tepid.

And last of all, I would say something more is needed than even conviction of the truth of Christianity as a system of doctrine, and a genuine desire for our neighbour's good. The really great Christian philosopher needs to be a man of great faith, in the sense that his faith is the expression of an intensely lived Christian personal life. When he speaks of the things which are unseen and eternal, he must be felt to be speaking not merely of something which he honestly *believes* to be real, but of things the sense of which is always about him in his daily life, things by the side of which the whole "choir of Heaven and furniture of earth" are no more than the shadows of a dream. To persuade men of God it is not enough that we should believe in God on the authority of the saints, or the doctors of the Church, or the great wise men of old; we must live in God and on God. And here I may make an observation which no one present at this Congress is likely to dispute. Much has been done for a spiritual philosophy in the past by men of devout minds, deep religious feelings, and sincere attachment to Christian ideas, who have for one reason or another—certainly not always through any fault of their own—held aloof from everything connected with the historical Christian Church and her institutions. No one can doubt the existence of many an *anima naturaliter Christiana* which has been kept out of the active membership of the visible Church, perhaps by misunderstanding, perhaps by actual fault on the part of the Church's representatives; and no one can deny that God's work of grace in such souls has often been productive of very real fruit, and that we may often learn from them a great deal of the meaning of the Christian life. But the full Christian life, like the life of the man of science or the artist, cannot be really lived, except at the greatest disadvantage, outside a community of one mind and one spirit, in which the members edify one another and supplement one another's gifts. If we remember how uncommon the transcendent scientific or artistic genius is outside an age and a society impregnated by the spirit of science or of art, we shall find it wholly in keeping with the whole order of human life that our Lord's promises are all to the

Church, or community of believers, and that the Apostolic writers know nothing of a "Christianity outside the Church." We may feel convinced that when a great modern Christian philosopher arises, he will not be one of these solitary souls, but an active member of the historic community of Christians, profiting in his inner life to the full by the organised Sacraments and devotions and living traditions of the great brotherhood of the Christian life.

Perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words on some of the lessons which such a philosopher and all those of us who, without being great philosophical men of genius, are trying in our humble way to give a reason to ourselves and others for the faith that is in us, may learn from the relations between Christianity and philosophy in the past. The attempt to create a Christian philosophy is, of course, as old as the earliest times in which the Church had become conscious of her mission to provide an intellectual basis for the whole future of a Christian civilisation. We all know how, in the third century, the great Origen, the largest mind of the whole early Church, attempted to achieve the work by building on the foundation of the greatest of all the Greek philosophies, the one which outlived all the others—the philosophy of Plato. And we know how, though the Church refused to sanction all Origen's speculations, the main line of his thought was continued into the Cappadocian fathers, and how, at a later date, Platonism was made the philosophy of the Western Church by the work of Augustine and Boethius. Now I think we may learn a lesson for our own time from the fate, the very thankless fate, of Origen's reputation. There is perhaps no great figure in early Church history to whose memory we of to-day are more ungrateful. The fusion of Christian religion with Platonic philosophy was a thing so natural that the main result of Origen's work has never been undone. Even in the Roman Church with all its professed Aristotelianism the actual philosophical doctrine taught by theologians remains to this day in essential matters Platonic under its disguise of Aristotelian technical terminology. The voice may be the voice of Aristotle, but the thought is still the thought of Plato and the Platonists. Yet men anxiously and fearfully orthodox will hardly name the first great Christian Platonist except to reproach him with something very much like heresy. Origen's hasty adoption of speculations about pre-existence and reincarnation has caused his real infinite service to Christian philosophy to be largely forgotten. I trust we may learn from the example the danger of trying to identify the cause of Christian philosophy with the advocacy of any special doubtful speculative tenets belonging to a philosophical authority, however deservedly famous. The cause of a "Kantian system" or an "Hegelian system" is not necessarily the cause of Christ and Christianity.

There is another warning which we perhaps need more pressingly in these days, and I think it may be shown from the history of the second most memorable attempt to provide the Christian religion

with a philosophy of its own—the attempt of St. Thomas. There is, I believe, a good deal of popular misconception about the way in which St. Thomas's Christianised Aristotelianism came to its dominance over the best intellects in the latter part of the thirteenth century. It seems often to be supposed that Aristotle was already an existing authority, and that ecclesiastics of the thirteenth century, bent on establishing a tyranny over the human intellect, simply decreed that henceforth this authority, which they found useful for their own purposes, should be implicitly accepted on pain of stake and faggot. The real facts are, of course, very different. The "Aristotelianism" of Thomas was a new thing, devised by the genius of one great man, and made its way to dominion, in the teeth of controversy, solely because its author was a man of genius and indefatigable earnestness, who wore himself out over the execution of his task. The thirteenth century was, in some important ways, very much like the twentieth. In the early part of that century the works of Aristotle were a novelty eagerly seized on by the intellects of the Western world for their novelty. They had come through the hand of Jews and Mohammedans, and with them came an interpretation of Jewish and Mohammedan origin. When St. Thomas began his life's work, the fashionable philosophy, which was to the men of that day what the doctrines of Bergson or Croce are to our own, was Aristotle read with the eyes of Averroes. The consequence was that the high places of the Church itself were permeated by a philosophy wholly irreconcileable with the very foundations of the Church's religion, a philosophy which denied God's providence and moral government of the world, and even the reality of the distinction between the divine and the human mind and the possibility of the "life of the world to come." The philosophers of the Christian Church were on the direct way to a merely naturalistic pantheism, and some of them (e.g. David of Dinan) were more than on the way thither. It was only as a result of a life's work of unremitting intellectual hard labour that St. Thomas succeeded in giving the fashionable philosophy an interpretation which made it possible to be at once an Aristotelian and a Christian. Now we may learn, as it seems to me, a lesson both from the history of Averroism in the Church and from that of Thomism. We too have seen the tendency among Christians anxious to defend religion by a philosophy to throw themselves eagerly upon the latest novel scheme of thought, and "exploit" it in their own sense, as Siger of Brabant and others did with Averroism in their time. Thus I have come across eager attempts to found a philosophy of the Christian religion on the speculations of M. Bergson, and it would not very much surprise me if someone should yet seek to enlist Einstein's "general theory of relativity" in the same sense. Now there are here two dangers to be guarded against. The philosophical "novelty" itself may be really as unsound as it is brilliant, and the apologist who is in a hurry to adopt it may be acting as unwisely as the author of a work

I once read, who attempted to prove the scientific accuracy of the Book of Genesis by arguing that it taught the (often erroneous) physics of Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*.

Or again, the speculation which is welcomed as a support to faith may turn out on closer scrutiny to be actually destructive of that which it is invoked to support. We must avoid the fault of impatience if we would work out a philosophy for Christians. We must not assume that a speculation is true because it has the weight of an illustrious name behind it, or because it is ancient and has so far not been called in question, or because it is very new and has up till now never been thought of by anyone. We must take for the foundation of our philosophy only that which we have honestly tested and found to stand the test, and above all, we must remember that the working out of philosophical truth is a slow business, and that there is no single key which will unlock all doors. Often we must be content to wait and confess that we do not see the true resolution of a difficulty, when it would be tempting to jump at a specious solution which we have not yet examined in all its bearings.

From the later fortunes of Thomism we may learn a complementary lesson. St. Thomas's Aristotelianism was not merely more Christian than the Averroism it displaced; it was in every way more scientific and more in accord with solid human sense. Its triumph was thoroughly deserved; for the thirteenth century the change from Averroism to Thomism was a great advance in sound thinking. It is quite another question whether the Roman Church has been wise in virtually making it incumbent on teachers and students of philosophy in the present day to think and speak as Thomas thought and spoke 650 years ago. The real effect of the Papal insistence upon the Thomist philosophy as the official philosophy of the Roman communion seems to me to have been simply to bind philosophic intellects in the Roman Church to the *Physics* of Aristotle, the most elaborately wrong-headed work, as I should say, ever excogitated by a misguided great man. I trust the English Church, while always ready to profit by all true thinking, old or new, will never commit itself to an official philosopher. Even if we could afford to be like the Bourbons in never forgetting anything, we dare not be like them in never learning anything. On the day when there is nothing more to be learned in philosophy, philosophy will cease to be anything but a quaint "relic of antiquity."

There is only one more thing I wish to say, but it is the thing I wish to say more than anything else. So far I have spoken mainly as though the task of the Christian philosopher were no more than to meet a secularistic philosophy by an assertion of "eternal providence." To do so much would be a service to the cause of true religion which none of us would wish to underrate. But the service could be rendered by a religiously minded thinker who should make no profession of Christianity. From a philosophy

of Christianity we must assuredly look for more. In its doctrine of God it must be true to that which is the special glory of the Catholic religion, that its supreme revelation is what St. Paul calls " the word of the *Cross*." I mean that Christianity sees the supreme proof of the glory of God not in the " starry firmament on high," like the Psalmist, nor yet, like Plato or Kant, in the reign of intelligible law and order in the world, but in the self-forgetting love of a Son of God, who crowned a life of the humblest service to His brethren by being made for their sakes " obedient unto death." It was of the first preaching of this " word of the Cross " that I was thinking when I spoke of the Catholic Church as older than all its creeds and all its forms of set devotion. It is only a religion in which the Cross is central which is entitled to claim the titles, often so mistakenly divorced, of Catholic and Evangelical.

In a philosophy which is to be adequate for Christians, the " word of the Cross " must be paramount. And this is just where some modern Theistic philosophies seem to me, admirable as they may be in other ways, to be defective. They have been inspired by the thought of God as the wise and beneficent Creator, as the providential Ruler, or, again, as the holy and righteous Author of the law of conduct. They have not done justice to the conception of God as the Deliverer and Redeemer from sin, just because in their authors the sense of sin has not been acute. But as I am sure that no " religion of healthy-mindedness " is the same thing as the historic Christian religion, so I am sure that no philosophy in which the key to God's relation with His creatures is sought elsewhere than in the redeeming life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ will ever provide us with a true " philosophy of religion." It has often happened that the Cross has been allowed to fall into the background in what have honestly meant to be Christian systems of thought; perhaps this happens oftener than it should in our own day. In a genuinely Christian philosophy as the words " He gave Himself for us " will strike the keynote of the doctrine of God, so the keynote of the whole theory of conduct will be given by the words " If God so loved us, we ought also to love one another."

III

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHURCH

C. THE FAITH AND THE EVANGELISATION OF THE WORLD

By the Bishop of Zululand

The perilous position in which the Missions of our part of the Catholic Church stand to-day makes it clear that we are far from recognising, as a body, as well as individuals, the supreme importance of the duty of the evangelisation of the world. In some quarters our Missions, if not in danger of collapse, are on the brink of serious disaster, through the inadequacy of supplies of priests and money. It is therefore advisable that we should begin by considering the question of the duty of the Church to teach the Catholic Faith to all nations of the earth.

It is, indeed, so primary a duty, that it is a matter of wonder that it should not always be the main consideration. Our Divine Saviour made it abundantly plain that He came as the Saviour of all the world, by His teaching as well as by His direct command, "Go, teach all nations." And yet even Saint Peter, who had seen and heard our Lord Himself in the flesh, had to learn through a strange vision on the house-top that the nations were to share in the Gifts of the Spirit and the Grace of God, and not the Jews only. So hard is it for man to understand the wideness of God's mercy, and the depth of His love! Countries evangelised by strangers from afar, who came because the love of souls impelled them, ought to be among the foremost in sending out the light to others who have not received it, and to have always in their remembrance this view of the purpose of the existence of the Church, that it is a society for winning souls to Christ as Redeemer, and maintaining them in living union with Him. It is the burden of the great prophecies of the Old Testament, especially of the mighty chapters of Isaiah, that to all the nations a Redeemer is coming: it rings through them like a chant of glorious hope, out of a heart that loves, and longs for, the redemption of all the people of the world: no mere national aspiration, but the voice of the Holy Spirit speaking through His servants, telling of the times to come when all nations shall enter into the Kingdom of God. It is inseparable from any understanding of every book of the New Testament. It is no side-purpose of the Church, no matter of merely additional interest, no secondary occupation: it is the

absorbing, overwhelming purpose of its existence. There must be the maintaining of the territory that has been won; those who have been brought within the fold must be kept and shepherded: the faith must be guarded from heresy. But not at the cost of the one purpose. A hospital is for the healing of the sick: if the revenue and labour of the staff are concentrated on the study of science and the furnishing of the institution to such an extent that the main purpose—the healing of the sick—is largely lost sight of, how can such a hospital justify its existence? Yet such seems to be the condition in which our part of the Church has become placed. The resources seem to be organised not for evangelisation, but for maintenance: and evangelisation, the main purpose of the existence of the Church, has to come, hat in hand, begging for a little assistance.

For the need of the evangelisation of the world is still as great as anything that can be conceived. There have been in the past, and there are in the present, wondrous triumphs of the Church; but compared with the need, the enterprise has been, and is, starved: openings are given, opportunities are offered, continually, which cannot be used. A mere fraction of the population of the world is, as yet, even nominally Christian: the bulk of those whom our Lord calls His sheep, and whom He commanded Saint Peter, and us, to feed, are still neglected and unheeded, and are a reproach to us.

We now come to consider the Catholic Faith in relation to the duty of evangelisation. We who are here believe that the Catholic Faith is the true medicine for healing the sickness of the world.

Superstition and false belief cannot be overcome merely by argument. The whole story of the false beliefs and misbeliefs of those outside the Christian fold may be summed up in the words "blindness (or at least partial blindness) and error." It is distorted truth, perverted ideals, Satanic power.

Opposite to this we place the true faith, the knowledge of God in the Blessed Trinity, the light that shines upon the darkness of error, and shows a beneficent and loving God, Father, Saviour, Life-giver. In face of the belief in the existence and power of unseen spirits for good and evil, we set forth the Grace of God, the truth about the angels, the assistance of the prayers of the Saints. Against the magic of witch doctors we set the joyful, loving mysteries of the Sacraments: for the self-inflicted tortures we substitute the pain of self-denial, of penitence and self-discipline; against the sacrifices to idols and dead ancestors we lift up the adorable Sacrifice of the Eucharist. In contrast to the principles of fetish and tabu we bring the Commandments of God and the sanctions of Holy Scripture. For the sacred writings of ages long ago we show writings as old, with their love for mankind and harmony of utterance. As a foil to the songs of lasciviousness we chant the noble Psalter and Christian hymns. We show the Christian life lived for the service of

others as a proof of the value of the faith for the uplifting of mankind. Above every name that is named we exalt the beloved name of Jesus.

Or again, it is cruelty that is a prevailing characteristic of some false religion. As the cure for this we bring love, forbearance, forgiveness of enemies, readiness to suffer unjustly. We lift up the Cross, the weapon of man's cruelty, as the sign of salvation; we show it not as our method of dealing with our opponents, as Islam with its sword, but as the token of that which has proved, through long ages, the truth for which we stand, that in the Cross, and in Him who died thereon, is salvation and healing and life.

Or it is ignorance which meets us: the ignorance of degradation, and of ages without light, such as we find among those who are called, in tender phrasing, the child races of the world. This ignorance has to be dispelled, and true knowledge given—the knowledge of a Friend who knows all things, and has infinite love and patience for the ignorant. We have for them the teaching that dispels the darkness of their minds, and brings them, step by step, to the Sacrament of life and light.

Or it is materialism that has to be confronted, and against that we bring the power of the spiritual life under the influence of the Holy Spirit, the attraction of Divine love, the ambitions of the aspiring soul, the altruism of Christian benevolence, the wondrous aid of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the surrendered life of religious communities.

There is no kind of spiritual poison or sickness in the world for which the Catholic Faith does not provide the antidote.

Then, further, the faith is the true medicine for healing the divisions among Christians. We earnestly desire unity amongst Christians, and equally earnestly do we believe that it can be brought about by adherence to the Catholic Faith, because the main division is, after all, a plain one—it is between those who believe that the Sacraments are an essential part of the faith and the way of salvation, and those who do not so believe. And just because we love our fellow Christians as much as we love truth, it does not seem to us that any reason can be shown that we should further the cause of unity by abandoning anything which we believe will prove in time to be the means of unity, in exchange for a seeming unity based not on respect for, but on vagueness of, principle. We recognise the greatness of the self-denial of those who differ from us, and their love for our Lord and the souls of men. We are ashamed, or ought to be ashamed, at their zeal in contrast with our own lukewarmness, in carrying out the express command of our Lord. They are more truly Catholic in their obedience than we are. They carry with eagerness of devotion and study, and with generosity, the Gospel as they know it, to the people in distant parts of the earth, and we, in many cases, lag far behind. But we, for all that, see that we have that in full which they have only in part, and that what they value highly we equally value, and have,

besides that, much more to bring than they. If we adhere steadfastly and lovingly to the teaching of the faith, and are not to be drawn aside into ways that can but make unity infinitely farther off, we shall provide a meeting-point for Christians in the days to come. In some quarters they courteously look to us to take the lead; year by year we see some point in the faith—formerly repudiated as merely accessory, and not even so much as accessory, but rather a hindrance to the Gospel—we see such points as the Eucharist as the chief service, retreats, prayers for the departed, recognised and adopted. We, on the other hand, learn more of the value of free prayer, of meetings for silent prayer, and such like. We learn the value of the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick, ways of worship, and of penance, methods of spiritual life, and other lessons that lead us on in the heavenly way. We are drawing, all of us Christians, closer together as the list of negations and things labelled dangerous grows shorter. And we here, in this assembly, stand not for mere party, but for the welfare of the whole body of the Church, and all those now separated from her Communion, who yet love the Saviour, and for that reason as a matter of simple faith we adhere to the doctrines delivered to us, because in them is the hope of unity; a repudiation or belittling of any of them makes but for further and irreconcileable disunion. "They shall hear My voice," says the Good Shepherd, "and shall follow Me, and shall become one flock." How? By hearing His voice in the Catholic Faith of the Church, and not in the varied opinions of contending societies.

Then, further, we see the reflex action on the Church in England of the preaching of the Catholic Faith in other parts of the world. We are told, it may be, that some parts of the faith are not necessary, that we are maximisers only, and seek to impose on the body of Christian people more than is either wise or valuable, even if it is not doubtfully true. And then we see or we hear from those who are engaged in other countries that the Catholic Faith is what we believe it to be, that it works there, that it is proved to have that efficacy which we know it has for us in England. There are conversions, sometimes marvellous in their event, conversions of individuals, conversions, or movements towards conversion, among masses of people, as in India. The faith makes a claim on the soul, and rests upon the action of the Holy Spirit, and there is the very answer that it is claimed to have the power of bringing out; the power of converting is there.

Whereas in England the Sacrament of Holy Baptism is considered almost entirely in regard to its administration to infants, we see overseas the original meaning of the Sacrament, to which infant baptism is a corollary. The adult men and women have come out of the darkness of the worship of idols and demons, of the practice of witchcraft, of the bondage of gross and degrading customs, out of religions which, with much that is noble and uplifting, teach what is but a blinding of the personality and character of God. There

they are, washed in the water of Baptism, born again into the family of Christ, given an inheritance among the Sons of light. They are in the home of God as their home now, for which they have been prepared with care. Baptism has united them to Christ, and they have the new life, and they know it. The Sacrament of Baptism is their entrance into the new supernatural life, and they are conscious of it.

Again, the value of the Sacrament of Confirmation is shown by what is done thereby for them, when they receive the gifts of the Spirit: they know they are strengthened, that the power of evil is thrust back; they know that they are commissioned to be workers in the vineyard of the Lord, and given grace for perseverance and growth in holiness. It works as we expect it to work when the conditions are obeyed. The fruits of the Spirit are seen.

It is the same with regard to the Eucharist, as the Christian sacrifice and the food of the soul, and the act of fellowship with God and with man. It is so plainly the gift from the God of Love, this perpetual memorial sacrifice, the central act of our worship of the Most High, this feast, this act of fellowship. The vitality of the worship, the naturalness of the devotion, the evidence of God's mercy as a Father in this gift from His Heavenly Table: the corporate humility and friendship.

So with regard to penance: the value of the Sacramental Absolution is seen.

And to holy marriage, where the Christian married life, with its bond indissoluble except by death, is so great a contrast to that of those outside; and to Unction, of which the results are not only that people frequently recover sufficiently to make a Christian end, but in numbers of cases restoration to health is given.

And, naturally, the Sacrament of Holy Order has its visible effects also, in the lives and devotion of all races. And we are not intending at all to deprive those who look to us for truth of the grace that lies in Holy Order, by reckoning all ministries as equally valid. The faith is one: it cannot count one Sacrament, even though it be a lesser one, as having no force because of the unworthiness of those who have received it, or the excellence of the work of those who have not received it, but whose ministry God has blessed: a ministry which we treat with such respect as it deserves, but which is of another kind from the Ministry of the Catholic Church.

And native races, who are accustomed to the rule and dignity of chiefs, readily recognise the order and suitability of the Orders of the Sacred Ministry.

So with the power of Holy Scripture: the Word, as well as the Sacraments. Both to individual Christians, cleric or layman, and to the whole body of disciples, the Word of God, written for our learning, is seen to be of unquestionable, priceless, spiritual value, for edification and instruction: the work of the Holy Spirit. New light is thrown upon its sacred pages in lands and circumstances

very different from our own, from the varied lives and habits of the many races of the earth. It is not one whit less suitable for them than for us: over and over again it is shown to be more suitable. It is a book of God's love for all His children, and its harmonies are caught by every attentive ear.

In fact, just as a commercial house knows that its travellers in all parts of the world bring back to the central house fresh ideas of how to control and develop the business, and that such travellers are invaluable aids for the life and soul of the commercial transactions, so it is with the Missions of the Church. Those who are in Churches where establishment is unknown, who are free to rule themselves and to develop the practice of the Church in full accordance with the faith, bring to England not only the proofs of the divine grace of the Word and Sacraments, but also illustrate and enrich by their experience the experience of those who live in England. They show how the sacred Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons is not something on the character of which different theories may be held in the one Church, but that the fact of Episcopacy involves the Catholic theory as to its character, and not one of mere superintendence; that the fact of the priesthood involves the Catholic theory of priesthood and not one of Presbyterianism or other kind of ministry; that the fact of the diaconate involves the Catholic theory of its character, as an Order subsidiary to the priesthood, and not a position merely for devout laymen.

Nor does the Catholic theory include the Establishment theory of Archbishops and Bishops ruling without Provincial and Diocesan Synods: the monarchical theory which hinders Bishops themselves at every point, and obscures their relation to their flocks as Fathers in God. We, in contrast, show the method of Provincial and Diocesan Synods in full working order.

We do not indeed forget, but most thankfully acknowledge, the immense debt that we owe to the learning and prayers and faithfulness and assistance of Bishops, clergy and laity in England, but it may, we think, be claimed that by the Missions of the Church are made more clear than before the purpose and vitality of the faith.

What then are the chief hindrances? The position of the Church in England in the bondage of State control is responsible for much of the misunderstanding and consequent apathy. What is called Establishment fogs the whole atmosphere. What in theory has a State Church to do with setting up Churches in other States? Nothing at all. What it does in that way is gratuitous generosity, an unselfish assistance of the labours of others. We who are here to-day do not believe in a State Church at all, in fact utterly reject it, in the ordinary sense of such a term. We know that what is called the State Church is the Catholic Church in England in bondage to the State—at present. It is because in so many people's minds the Church in England is a State organisation under State

control that the idea of the sending of Missions to other lands and peoples as a duty is obscured, and it is looked upon as merely a matter of choice. And though there is a true sense in which a part of the Catholic Church in a country may be described as "National," it is only too often a misleading phrase, and, in any case, does not suggest the idea of missionary work as a duty. Its duty is towards its own nation. And so whether the phrase used is "Established Church," "State Church," or "National Church," it equally obscures the real purpose of the Church, and on that account the established position of the Church in England is one great hindrance to the presentation of the real and true purpose of the Church as Catholic, world-wide, and for all nations. Therefore the Church in Wales is to be congratulated on having achieved freedom. It may have to say, "With a great sum obtained I this freedom," whilst the Church in South Africa (thanks to the nobility and courage and faith of Bishop Gray and those in England and elsewhere who supported him) can say, "I was free born." And we may hope to see the Province of Wales both extend the work of the Church in other lands, and also pave the way for, and illustrate, what the future of the Church in England may be, when the day of freedom has come.

Another hindrance which seems to stand out is the idea that there is so much help needed to spread the true teaching of the Catholic Faith in England, and in making the Churches worthy of the worship of God, that little help can be spared for Dioceses and Missions overseas.

It is indeed a great refreshment to see the beautiful churches and worship in England: we should not grudge any part of that to the Church, rather we should be glad to see such glory and worship spread wider in England. For these, in themselves, foster the true purpose of the Church; they show that sacrifice and self-denial and generous gifts for the honour of God's house and worship are a part of the natural outcome of an understanding of the Catholic Faith in its fulness; they set forth the blessedness of it, the spirit of praise and thanksgiving, as well as of penitence and prayer. But no doubt there is sometimes too much concentration on these things to the exclusion of the evangelising spirit. It is like the extreme emphasis laid by some on preaching as the main thing of importance, which should be, however excellent and careful and thorough, the guide to prayer and devotion, and the fulfilling of God's will. To spend large sums on music and choirs may be most praiseworthy, but if the sum spent on evangelisation is less than that, there is something wrong in the point of view, a missing of the main object of Christianity, which is to be the increase of souls to the obedience of Christ in all parts of the world.

The support of evangelisation should be made the prime motive in the life of the congregation. To "do something for Missions" is not adequate; it is small: it is the spread of the Gospel that is the true salt of Christian life.

Perhaps the real cause lies deeper still—lack of faith and love for God's will. If we were all converted people, loving our Lord with all our hearts, we could not help wanting to spread the knowledge of Him throughout the world. It is due to want of warm-hearted religion, springing from a certainty that our Blessed Lord is the Pearl of Great Price, and that we should put in the first place in our hearts the desire and the intention to forward His Kingdom. Is that the real difficulty? Is that where the mischief is? Men and women, truly converted and become as little children, want to please God, and take the command of our Lord simply, and help to carry it out. To be a true Catholic one must be missionary-hearted.

And now for practical conclusions. What do we wish for as the outcome of this Congress? An accentuation of the difference between ourselves who love the full Catholic Faith and those of our own Church, and others outside of it, who do not see it as we believe ourselves, in all humility, but in faith, to see it? No, indeed; we desire to draw others into the same vision with ourselves.

But while they can point to clergy and laity amongst us who take no interest in Missions, whose gaze is centred either on the difficulties of religion, or the advance of their own parish, and ignore the claims of the wide world for which the Catholic Faith is intended, they will never be won; their case against us is too clear. They, many of them, with what we think an abbreviated Gospel message, strive with heroic and self-denying enterprise to spread the Kingdom of God. Will they, looking upon our coldness, say, "We will come to you, for we see in you the Spirit of Christ"? Never will they do so whilst things are as they are.

We make an appeal here and now. It is right that Bishops should come from other lands to tell the good and inspiring news of what they see and know of the work of the Holy Spirit among the far nations of the world, and among the scattered fellow countrymen of our own race. It is right, too, that they should tell of doors open to us which cannot be entered, and flocks which have to be unshepherded, of colleges that have to be closed because, though the harvest is waiting, the labourers are too few, and the funds are hopelessly inadequate. But is it right that such Bishops should have to go round the country raising funds for their own Dioceses, and seeking workers for their vacant posts by personal influence, because priests do not preach the cause of Missions, and the laity are not informed of, or are indifferent to, the duty that lies on them?

To omit the evangelisation of the world from the teaching of the faith is nearer to heresy than to Catholicism. That is not true Catholicism which does not put the spread of God's Kingdom in all lands in the forefront of its propaganda.

The appeal, then, is this—What will make the Congress a memorable event? By what step can it influence the feeling of the whole

Church, and make itself clear as an assembly of those who love our Blessed Lord and the true faith?

There is a way more effective than memorials or resolutions, and that is the old, old way of sacrifice, the highway of the Holy Cross.

First, workers are needed.

(*a*) Priests are required, and especially in the noble Universities' Mission to Central Africa, whose romantic history stirs all our hearts, whose Bishops we honour and revere, who tell us of the disaster which must come if more priests do not offer themselves. It is the same in Corea, the same impending trouble, and in other Missions in India and elsewhere; to some extent in South Africa. Here is adventure for Christ; here are tests for the spirit of sacrifice. Let some priests in positions of influence here ask our Lord to call them to the field abroad, and ask with entire self-surrender; let others do the same, and let us see all these vacant posts filled.

Too many young priests nowadays are marrying, and are thereby limiting the sphere of their activity in the ministry. Let the younger priests abstain from marriage until they have asked for a call to the religious life in some of our communities, whose work in the Mission Field is beyond all praise; until they have asked for that call, or to that of a single life for some years, if not for always, and have learned from our Lord that that is not His will for them.

(*b*) Lay workers are wanted: doctors, schoolmasters and mistresses, nurses, craftsmen; men and women of different abilities and gifts, who know the voice of Christ the Beloved, and value His love above all things. Let offers of service be made, and made soon.

Secondly, money is wanted

(*a*) Parochial finance is now being brought into better shape. Let a grant for Missions, as part of the annual parochial burden, be put upon the estimates.

(*b*) And (and this is the last word) let there be made before the end of this week, before the Lambeth Conference begins its deliberations, as an earnest of what is to come, an offering for Missions, such as will be a real proof to an unbelieving public that the Catholic movement is not dead, but alive and moving, and has the world-wide view of Him by Whose Spirit we believe the movement to have been inspired, and to Whom we look for the future. Let this sum be a large sum, and let it be given promptly without further request or organisation, and sent to the Chairman of this great Congress. There are those who can give large sums, others smaller ones. There are those who can pour jewels of value into the treasury of God's cause. Is this an extravagant appeal? If so, even so let it be successful; some recklessness in giving to the Missions of the Church will be a refreshing novelty. It can be done if the will is there.

The appeal is made that the anxieties of our Bishops overseas may be removed, their work maintained, their losses made good, their hearts strengthened, and that they and their fellow workers may know that this sacrifice is willingly made by those who honour our Blessed Lord alike in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar and in the Evangelisation of the World.

III

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHURCH

D. THE KINGDOM OF GOD

By L. S. Thornton

In the process of revelation the idea of the Kingdom of God was one of the most fundamental that appeared, and it is not too much to say that the phrase sums up the characteristically Christian view of the world and history, of all human life and its destiny.

For to believe in the Kingdom of God in this sense means to believe that a Holy God is enthroned above nature and controls the course of history; that the world was framed by the divine will, embodies a divine purpose, and moves towards a definite end which is worthy of God. As believers in this Kingdom we hold also that the human race is not at liberty to follow self-chosen paths without a terrible retribution, and that the only true satisfaction of man comes through submission to the laws which God has established in the world. For man this means that the foundations of life are laid in recognition of the divine claims, in an attitude of reverent faith and surrender, in the worship of God, in fellowship with Him, and in co-operation with the divine plan for the world and for human society.

This is the general outlook which the idea of the Kingdom of God suggests. But we are concerned not so much with ideas in this connection, as with what has happened in history. There is a sense in which God has always reigned; yet into a sinful world which did not acknowledge His claims God came in time, to establish His Kingdom among men. We believe that by a new creative act of divine power God set up His Kingdom upon earth and, in the Person of His Incarnate Son, resumed His rightful sway over the world that He had made. The sovereignty of the ascended Christ is for us both the assurance that the Lord is already King and the means whereby the reign of God over mankind is ultimately to be made fully manifest.

In the Christian view history is the record of a vast conflict between the forces of good and evil, between God and the devil. In the story of that conflict one fact stands unassailable for us—the victory of our Lord together with its consequences, the

sovereign power which He wields, and the unlimited resources which are at His disposal. To these resources we must now turn our attention, for it is upon them that the final issue depends.

First of all, then, we must say that since the Day of Pentecost the primary embodiment of the Kingdom of God has been in the Catholic Church, because in her lie its principal resources.

There are two distinct elements which appear to be necessary in any adequate idea of the Kingdom of God. First, there is the sovereign inward rule of God in the individual hearts and characters of men, and secondly, there is an external order and process whereby human society is visibly redeemed and transformed. These two elements are in fact hardly separable. They are intermingled all through Scripture, and appear to be complementary to one another in our Lord's teaching. Perhaps He spoke most often of the inward qualities of character which belong to the Kingdom in contrast to the crudeness and secularism of current ideas. But on the other hand, the Incarnation itself is a perpetual reminder to us that however spiritual the forces of the Kingdom may be, the measure of their sway over men mainly depends upon the degree in which they can be expressed in concrete visible forms. Now these different elements of the Kingdom actually made their appearance as realised facts in the Apostolic Church. A new secret of inner life flowering into new manifestations of character, and embodied in a new kind of human fellowship with its own developing forms of outward order—this was what now appeared as a present reality having the marks of a new creation in which were stored untold resources for the redemption of mankind.

The Catholic Church received from our Lord the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In her are established the well-springs of grace through His indwelling Spirit. By these alone can man be reunited to God, renewed in His nature and made responsive to the divine claims upon his life. The Church thus possesses the secret of personal character, the vital power by which the Kingdom grows. In the apostolic writings we see how the two chief characteristics of the Kingdom are fused together. The rule of God in the heart liberates personality. Inwardly this means an enrichment of life by contact with God, opening out unlimited possibilities for the unfolding of individual gifts and graces. But this inward development provides the very material out of which a true social life can grow. The growth of personal character, as described in the New Testament, is one which through renunciation of self-seeking tendencies passes to a higher level, where man finds increasing satisfaction in contributing his share to the common life of his fellow men. Each one contributes something unique, and in so doing he exercises his proper function in the corporate life of the Body. Perhaps we may even say that the test of personal salvation in the apostolic religion appears in this attainment of function within the Body. We cannot reach the full stature of Christian personality except through a process of fitting into and contributing to the

corporate life. It is important to observe the exact adjustment of the resources of the Kingdom as we find them in the Church, for there is a wider manifestation of the Kingdom which can be understood only in the light of this adjustment.

The manifestation of the Kingdom in the Church is seen to be first of all an inward mystical process of character-formation, which achieves itself in an intense social life. But this process does *not* create that social life, for it needs social forms already existing into which it can flow. The social structure of the Church had to be originally given before the process could begin. The inward dynamic of grace and its ethical fruits required a visible Body, as truly a divine gift as itself. And more than this was needed and was bestowed. The visible Body itself, the partner of such intense inward life, required for its support the divinely given authority of the Apostolic Ministry and its due continuance. For if the rule of God is to be in the heart of man, and if his life fructifies only in the social order of the Body, then the rule of God must visibly preside over that same order in an unmistakable way. The Kingdom can have full sway over the individual life only if the individual recognises the imprint of divine authority over that external order to which he belongs.

These are permanent principles of the Kingdom of God. They appear in the Church as unique, divinely bestowed gifts. But in *some* form they must appear and be recognised in any manifestation of the Kingdom in human society as a whole ; for they are really written upon the heart of man and upon the divine order of the world.

It is this wider development of the Kingdom which we must now consider. From what has been said it will be clear that the Church as the typical, central, divinely given embodiment of the Kingdom is the indispensable organ through which alone any further manifestation of the Kingdom can come. If this is so, the visible Church here on earth cannot be regarded as an end in itself. It is an outward order over which, in spite of all imperfections, Christ manifestly reigns here and now. It witnesses and ministers to His inward reign over human hearts here and now. Yet it embodies a forecast and a prophecy of still greater things to come. For the end to which the processes of the Kingdom have been set in motion is not the individual salvation of a minority of souls, but nothing less than the redemption of the whole human race, and the recovery of all the riches of God's creation from the ruin into which it has fallen. Let us then consider the principles by which the Church's vocation as organ of the Kingdom must be realised in the world.

The first and most important of these is the distinction between the Church and the world, and between the ends which they respectively seek. As against the cult of happiness and earthly peace the Church sets heavenly beatitude and the peace of God and His saints as the proper end of man. Her witness is to " the kingdom of the heavens " which is not of this world—a Kingdom which has

already come down from God out of heaven as a divine gift, and which at the end of time will finally be manifested in its perfection beyond this world-order by the mighty power of God. It has always been a deep-rooted Christian conviction that there can be no finality about any outward ordering of this world, and that the final reign of God and the saints belongs to a life which will be ushered in after this world has run its course. But that " other world " not only reaches forward beyond the stretch of time which measures this earthly process. It also surrounds us now ; and it is this which distinguishes Christian activity from worldly activity, even when both appear to be aiming at the same immediate results. Whatever the process, the one seeks supernatural ends, the other some earthly achievement. Renunciation of earth for heaven is the primary mark of Christian conduct, determining the relation of the Church to the world. The incarnation of God meant the descent to earth of a heaven-born Life whose energies could only fructify for us through deliberate renunciation on the Cross of that earth-born life into which it came. And so it must always be ; only poverty and meekness can inherit the earth. The martyrs died and the Roman Empire entered the Church. Monks fled into the wilderness and the wilderness blossomed into mediæval Christendom. The Cross is followed by the Resurrection.

That brings us to another principle involved in the Church's mission to the world. Our Lord came into the world to redeem it from corruption to a new life of consecration. " For God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world through Him might be saved." The principle of the Resurrection is the principle of a new life which has conquered the world by renouncing it, and which, being itself consecrated by that sacrifice, possesses power to redeem all the natural riches of the human social order from worldly perversion and waste, and to raise them to the level of consecration, where they become a sacrifice acceptable to God. To redeem the world, however, is a more difficult task than to renounce it. At first sight, indeed, it seems to mean something fairly straightforward—the work of gathering souls into the Church by individual conversion and baptism, and then the task of building up their characters by sacramental grace until they become knit into their place in the Body of Christ, and contribute to the mystical fellowship of the common life in the Church. That is a process of assimilation by which human lives are gathered out of the corrupt society of the world, and placed in a better society. And when they come they bring with them all the natural gifts and tendencies and varieties of human personality, which have hitherto contributed to an organised life outside the Church. For the supernatural resources of the Kingdom, to which the Church holds the key, require material upon which to act ; and the material upon which they act is always natural human material, only regenerated to a new use. Moreover, this is not simply a process of saving individual souls ; for, as we have seen, the Church itself is a

distinct social structure, into which all this consecrated human material is built.

Now we must observe that the process just described is still essentially a process of renunciation. It is the upward, God-ward movement by which the Church draws men out of this heated earthly atmosphere into the calmer world of prayer, where the heavenly vision is possible. The ideal of such a process is to build up in the Church a form of society capable of setting forth to the world unmistakably in its own distinct corporate life a type and forecast of redeemed humanity, wherein all the riches of this earthly life are consecrated to minister to the glory of God and the highest end of man.

The redemption of the world, however, means something else besides all this. The Church is still set in the midst of the world, for all her separation and distinctness. Her members cannot renounce their earthly citizenship. The two societies—the heavenly and the earthly—are so closely interlocked that it is not always easy to distinguish between them. Moreover, all this human material which may be gathered into the Church has also its own natural processes of organisation and of development, and its own independent ground for such development in the divine scheme. Consequently it is not enough to treat the world as a collection of individuals ready to be gathered in under the pressure of grace, and so to be built into the supernatural order. There *is* no such collection of individual units; for men exist in natural social groups, and are bound together in an external natural order. If the Church has an organised social life, so has the world. There is, therefore, another indispensable process of the Kingdom, complementary to that just now traced; not a process of ingathering, but an opposite movement of influences from within the Church going out to percolate the natural forms of human society. If God is really to reign over His world, the powers of the Kingdom must move out to consecrate not only human souls, but everything by which souls live—the whole bodily life of men, all their use of material goods, the whole nexus of social arrangements, economic and political, all intellectual activity and artistic expression. Into all of these things the leaven of the Kingdom must come, if the world is to be saved.

We were thinking just now of the social structure of the Church as the necessary counterpart of the inward life in grace—a structure without which that life could not be manifested. This principle really runs all through human society. The inner spirit of man habitually expresses itself through appropriate outward forms. If the only available forms are inappropriate, the spirit is hampered in its self-expression. On the other hand, suitable outward forms not only facilitate the expression, but actually enhance its power. They make it objective, and so react favourably to strengthen the inward growth. It follows that if all the resources of the Kingdom are to become operative in the world, the ingathering and training of souls is not the only process required. That process is fed from without,

and may be gravely inhibited or impoverished by the external conditions existing in the world. We have no right, indeed, to expect that the Church shall always be able to control the affairs of human society as such, for dominion over this world has not been given to her. But she cannot remain indifferent to these things, considering how gravely they react in the long run upon her own inner life.

Let us look at the matter from another point of view. We thought of the primary method of redeeming mankind as an upward movement raising souls from earth to heaven. That is the primary method, because the Kingdom has already come down to earth. It is embodied in the Church for all to enter who will. Yet it is equally true to say that in this dispensation the Kingdom is ever in process of coming from heaven to earth: "The Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God." This is peculiarly the method which affects the world itself as a whole. For what is the world but the organisation of man apart from God? The misery of the world consists in this, that it possesses in itself every promise of human achievement without the possibility of adequate fulfilment. Human life is naturally constituted for enjoyment of happiness in a vast variety of noble forms. Yet not a single one of these can give satisfaction which is either permanent or adequate to what is in man. The world, then, needs to be redeemed from itself, from its poverty and its wealth. All is vanity unless God shall touch it. It can at best look up with despairing face through a void which it cannot bridge, until the dew of heaven descend upon it. And so the Kingdom must come down upon the world to meet all its unsatisfied desires. This after all is the divine way: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son." When St. John says that God loves the world, surely he means that God loves everything in the world which is capable of redemption; whatever in the original good of creation can still be made serviceable to the divine will, not only the souls of men, but a great deal else besides; all the as yet unrealised capacities of the world and its inmates for bringing forth goodness, fellowship, beauty, and the like in a harmony of co-operation. Upon all of these the influences of the Kingdom must descend, that the gulf between heaven and earth may be bridged.

It was in this sort of context that it was said earlier in this paper that "the visible Church here on earth cannot be regarded as an end in itself." We are naturally attracted by the medieval conception of Christendom as a visible theocracy in which human society is, as it were, transplanted bodily into the Church and subsumed under its categories. That experiment was indeed, in the measure of success which it attained, a most wonderful embodiment of those redemptive processes which we have been considering. Such a state of things, however, could only arise where the process of the Kingdom was one of rapid assimilation not of individuals only, but of society itself, so that the very forms of society grew up within the atmosphere of the Kingdom. Where the world is organised apart from the

Church, as it is to-day, the different processes of the Kingdom tend inevitably to fall apart. But for that very reason it is vital that we should not allow our activity to be narrowed down to any one process to the exclusion of others. We must gather into the Church all that can be rightly assimilated. But we must also claim the liberty to go out into the world-order, to scrutinise its social forms, examining the principles upon which they are based. We must judge them where they conflict with the righteous requirements of the Kingdom, and watch them closely as men who long for these things to be transformed into the likeness of the divine order. We must toil for that transformation by common voice and effort as those who believe that under all the crust of collective sin, organised avarice, selfishness and ungodliness, there lie, hidden and undeveloped, immense possibilities of a common good.

Here we come face to face with yet another principle involved in the propagation of the Kingdom. Our task involves a conflict between the Church and the world. The Church is like some artist who is trying to fashion a beautiful work out of unpromising material. She works in the light of a vision and longs to reproduce in earthly form what she has seen. But the material does not lend itself to the work. Again and again the worker fails and has to start afresh. The vision still holds, but the materials crumble and spoil repeatedly. There is no certainty of success on earth, yet the task must go on as long as the vision remains; for as long as that remains, patience will be renewed. The Kingdom can only come through conflict, for the material upon which we work is not merely unpromising, it is a disputed possession, within which the forces of evil are actively organised in opposition to the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom came into the world originally as a revolutionary movement undermining the vested interests of evil. Its atmosphere was one of conflict sustained by patient endurance; not simply resignation, but a stubborn military virtue which will not give up the struggle until the end is achieved.

One of the main contrasts between Christianity and paganism surely lies here. Christianity is essentially revolutionary, aspiring, progressive; whereas paganism, ancient or modern, accepts life as an already completed whole, and is mainly concerned to preserve a *status quo*. In the genuine heart of the natural man there is an ever recurring fatalism which makes him bow down before the sovereignty of seemingly inevitable processes. Above his gods the pagan man sets fate; above his own spiritual needs and possibilities the modern man sets the same thing, whether he calls it the laws of nature, economic necessity, or the liberty of the individual. This fatalism is the hall-mark of the pagan life, which has the sentence of death upon it. Its typical civilisation stagnates and stands still in rigid grooves of caste and permanent inequalites. The vested interests gather round it and render it immobile, until at last they destroy it altogether. There is a great deal of all this in the neo-pagan forms of our modern world, enough to give us a holy fear lest we uncon-

sciously embrace it, deceived as to its real meaning by the specious covering which is thrown over it, and the appearance of inevitability which it seems to possess.

The movement which this Congress represents has had its share of conflict with secular forces in the past. None of us can tell how soon that conflict may not be actively renewed, either over the question of divorce or upon some other issue. We at least ought to have no illusions about the modern world with its cult of pagan lusts and superstitions, its irresponsible governments, its immoral " business " code and the indifference of its rulers to any ideals of justice and liberty, whether for nations or for social groups. Of course, this is not all deliberate wickedness. Where there are no fixed beliefs and the world is in solution, their very negations drive men to seek frantically for the easiest and nearest security. Deprived of imagination by the pursuit of material things, they inevitably rest in the temporary security of some system which is ready to hand and looks inevitable. Such an inevitable system our modern social order seems to many to be. In our case, however, our principles ought to lead us to challenge such a conclusion. Catholicism at its best always stands for a common social life, whereas the whole structure of our modern world spells irresponsible individualism. Catholicism stands for the redemption of the whole life of man under Christian ideals, whereas the modern world took its rise from the revival of semi-pagan ideals in the Renaissance. With that inspiration it has carved out a purely secular career for itself, being greatly aided in this false emancipation by the Protestant principle that religion consists solely in personal piety, and has no real concern with either criticising or consecrating the organisation of our common life.

But for us nothing is inevitable except the ultimate triumph of God and His Kingdom over every obstacle. The Catholic Creed upon which our life is based is itself a declaration that the processes of nature have been made subject to the redemptive power of God. Thus the very way in which God came into the world to redeem it was a revolutionary way, and our Lord was put to death by a reactionary people, who wanted to keep things as they were, and preferred the old to the new.

But the Kingdom of God is eternally new and cannot be stayed upon its course. It has still the freshness of a new creation which may not be restricted to narrow channels and moderate hopes. In the early centuries the Church conserved the Catholic dogmas at the very time when her way of life was a revolutionary challenge to the existing social order. The dogmas were conserved because they themselves are the source of that new wine of revolution which is to bring in the Kingdom of God.

The Christian revolution, then, is a positive process which clears the ground in order to construct something new in the light of a vision, such a compelling vision of social righteousness as will lift men above the prejudices of class, and race, and private interest. It is this

vision of the Kingdom of God to be realised on earth which we must recover at all costs. Though the times are of the darkest, we have all the resources of the Kingdom at our disposal; and what is to hinder us from believing that they still have the power to carry all before them? If God once wrought miracles in Galilee, He can break the power of social tyrannies to-day. If as Catholics we reject the idea that God is the slave of natural laws, then we are bound to repudiate the equally irreligious notion that God is to be circumscribed by the laws of competition in human commerce and industry. A challenge to our faith is involved, and some unmistakable facts must be faced. For men will not flock to the Church if we seem indifferent to the merits of the system under which they live their daily lives. They will not be persuaded by our words about fellowship in the divine society if the only society they know is one governed by a ruthless scramble for profits. They will not recover a vision of the supernatural unless we can convince them that the great iron world of necessity, in which they earn their bread, can be made to bow before the sovereignty of God.

For all this we need to renew ourselves in the outlook and spirit of the apostolic Christians. Like them, we must lift up our eyes in expectancy, waiting for the unveiling of the Kingdom wherein dwelleth righteousness. Yet as with them so now this upward glance is to give intensity to all our earthly activities by bestowing on them an eternal import. Such an outlook will lift us above vicissitudes of success and failure. Our efforts to embody the Kingdom of God on earth have an uncertain issue so far as visible results are concerned. At times we may well seem to ourselves to be like children building castles on the sand, whose work will be swept away by the incoming tide. But that is not a true account of the matter. For our fitful efforts, if sincere, are worked into a heavenly background of divine processes in which there is no room for uncertainty. The Kingdom is the Lord's, and in the last resort depends upon Him alone. Nevertheless, what we are allowed to do is carried over into that other world to which we and all our labours rightly belong. What is here expressed in part is but the earthly register, inadequate, as all visible symbols must be, of the building of that city which is laid up in the heavens.

IV

OUR POSITION

A. AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF BELIEF

By N. P. Williams

I

I will ask leave to begin this paper by quoting, in summary form, an allegory, drawn from one of the less-known works of a great nineteenth-century agnostic. It runs somewhat as follows:

"In my dream, methought I found myself aboard a stately ship, cleaving her way across an unknown ocean. It was night, and no land could be discerned; from time to time what seemed like lights appeared to right and left, but so vague and transitory were they that no certain inference as to our position could be drawn from them. And the strange thing was that, amongst the crew, there was no universally accepted theory of the object or goal of our voyage; some maintained one hypothesis and some another, and there were not wanting those who affirmed that the ship was driving aimlessly on, to no harbour and with no purpose whatever. And yet, despite this chaos of opinion, all the crew agreed upon one point—why, they knew not—namely, that the ship's head had to be kept due north. I went down into the saloon, to see if I could gain any information as to the object and destination of this mysterious voyage. There, under the dim light of the oil lamps swinging from the ceiling, I found groups of men at the various tables, with maps of the ocean and charts of the heavens outspread before them. Each group was noisily and aggressively confident that its own maps represented the exact truth as to the direction of the voyage; and yet the only point on which all the various documents agreed was the place of the Pole star, and the necessity of keeping the ship's head turned towards it. Tired of the wrangling, and oppressed by the stuffiness of the cabin, I ascended once more to the deck, and I could not help feeling that the fresh air and the cool night wind, even when accompanied by doubt and uncertainty, were better than the fetid atmosphere of the saloon, with all its fancied and narrow certitude. . . ."

The meaning of this allegory will be obvious. The ship is humanity; the sea over which it is sailing is this present life. The discordant maps are the different creeds which profess to give man information as to his origin and destiny. The Polar star, which is the one element common to all the various systems of navigation, is conscience, the "categorical imperative" of the moral law; and the people on deck, who have escaped from the wrangling of the saloon, and are content to steer due north in obedience to

instinct, without knowing what actually lies in the north, are the agnostics who have won intellectual liberty by the sacrifice of the certitude of faith.

I have quoted this little allegory because it seems to me to illustrate very well what is meant by the idea of " authority " in relation to religious truth. In this sphere, an " authority " merely means *a source of information.* The prejudice which exists against the idea of dogmatic authority is based upon confusion between intellectual authority and juridical or coercive authority. In the intellectual sense a sailor might well say, " The Admiralty chart is my ' authority ' for believing that a sunken rock exists in such a latitude and such a longitude " ; and, therefore, our author's dream-symbolisation of the various creeds which claim man's allegiance as so many rival maps of this mysterious universe is a perfectly happy and correct one. But if we may take the liberty of working out the allegory a little further, we may suggest that the dream-voyager might reasonably have been expected to examine the rival maps with a little more care than he appears to have bestowed on them. If he had done this, he would not, I think, have spent much time on the Buddhist or Mohammedan maps, as he would find that the former was designed on the supposition that the best thing that could happen to the ship would be to founder with all hands, whilst the latter showed the Polar star in the wrong place. And the Jewish map, on examination, would prove to be manifestly imperfect, and to contain features which were nineteen hundred years out of date. He would thus be forced back upon the Christian group of maps; and he would see at once that amongst them there stood out one—the most ancient and yet the most clear, the most beautiful in its external form, the most satisfying in its logical coherence —a map emblazoned with the glorious title of THE CATHOLIC FAITH. He would find that the other Christian maps consisted largely of negations; and that, so far as they contained any positive information at all, they were merely pared-down versions of this, the oldest and most complete map. Some of these other maps, especially those of German manufacture, were rapidly fading in the keen sea air, owing to some defect in ink or paper; some had, in fact, already become, like the Bellman's map, " a perfect and absolute blank." A patient, candid, and unprejudiced survey of the actually existing maps would, we claim, be enough to invest the supposition that the Catholic map is the true one with a high degree of probability; and if the voyager were to make an honest and manful attempt to get into touch with the Owner of the ship by means of the " wireless " of prayer, we have no doubt at all that the probability would very soon be turned for him into certainty.

II

We have, then, as Catholics, the solemn function laid upon us of upholding—in a time of doubt and pessimism, when men are

beginning to realise that the millennium which was to follow Armageddon is likely to be somewhat delayed, and to ask, in consequence "What is truth?" or "Who will show us any good?" —the standard of objective, authoritative, supernatural revelation. We stand for the principle of a deposit of fundamental Christian ideas, promulgated by Christ our Lord, committed by Him to the guardianship of the Catholic Church, and implicitly or explicitly contained in the Holy Scriptures; for the belief that the historic development of Christian doctrine was so guided and inspired by the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost, that the Catholic Creeds and conciliar definitions may be relied upon as representing the nearest approach to absolute truth which finite minds are capable of apprehending. But in the task of recalling these largely forgotten principles to the minds of our countrymen, we must beware of stating them in too abstract or impersonal a manner. We have to remember that we live amongst a people disposed to be impatient of any sort of official authority, especially in matters of religion, but prepared to pay almost limitless adoration to the power of personality. Most ex-service chaplains would agree that the men were willing to listen with eagerness to any vigorous preacher who spoke to them of the personal Christ; but that when the word "Church" was mentioned, there was an immediate and obvious collapse of interest. In all popular exposition of the subject of authority, therefore, we must be careful never to isolate "the Church" from the living Christ who is her Spouse and Head, and must make it plain that loyalty to Church teaching is only claimed as being one aspect of loyalty to our divine Lord. "Wherever we go in the Church of God," says Faber, "there is Jesus;" and this is as true in the realms of belief as in those of conduct and devotion. He is the ultimate authority standing behind both Church and Bible, the Admiral of the universe who has drawn our chart for us. And when we insist upon the objective nature of revelation, the eternal truth of the Christian faith, and the duty of right belief, it is because we would recall men's minds to the incommunicable and ineffable magnificence of our Divine Saviour's prerogatives as Supreme Teacher, Legislator, Priest and King, in opposition to the "reduced Christianity" which views Him merely as a human Prophet, conditioned and limited by the ignorance of His time, a teller of picturesque stories or a purveyor of delusive apocalyptic alarms. Loyalty to the Church is loyalty to Christ in the Church, and loyalty to Catholic doctrine is allegiance to Him as the Logos, the Word or Reason of the Father, the Sum and the Essence of all truth.

III

I have insisted upon this point here because, owing to the shortness of the time at my disposal, my own exposition must be of a somewhat technical nature, and I want to safeguard myself against the reproach of wishing to substitute an abstract and bloodless Church-

ianity for the warm, vital power of Christianity. If, however, this caution be borne in mind, we can, when asked " By what authority do ye, or believe ye, these things ? " safely reply, " By the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, expressed for us in Holy Scripture and Catholic tradition," or, indeed, quite briefly, " By the authority of Holy Scripture," provided that we add, with the seventeenth-century theologian Thorndike,[1] " the tradition of the whole Church " as the final interpreter of what " the sense of the Scripture " intends.

" The tradition of the whole Church." With this general statement all Catholics—Latin, Greek, or Anglican—would agree. But what is " the whole Church " ? What is the Anglo-Catholic conception or definition of " the Church " ? This is a question which must be faced and answered, if we are to be in a position to handle current problems with that decision and sureness of touch which are the outward sign and effect of inward clarity and definiteness of conviction. You will, therefore, I trust, not think that I am departing from the subject prescribed for me if I devote the greater part of my remarks to answering this all-important question : " What, and where, is the Holy Catholic Church, the guardian of the deposit of faith, the divine teacher of mankind ? "

Let me first of all disclaim, in the most emphatic manner possible, any pretence of putting before you a new or original solution. A religious movement cannot, or at any rate should not, first come into existence with no authority behind it, and then endeavour to evolve an *ex post facto* authority for itself out of its own inner consciousness. If we have not already got an authority, it is far too late in the day to invent one. When, therefore, I endeavour to define what we, as Anglo-Catholics, mean by " the Church," I am not to be understood as wishing to convert you to anything, but only to state compendiously what you already believe. I only desire to be the temporary mouthpiece, as it were, through which, on this occasion, the collective consciousness of our movement may be able to make explicit that conception of the Christian society which has underlain all its activities, ever since " Anglo-Catholicism " and " Roman Catholicism " differentiated themselves as distinct types, out of the old, spacious, international, pre-Reformation and pre-Tridentine Catholicism of the West.

IV

With this proviso, then, I proceed to consider the question, " What do we mean by ' the Church ' ? " In the widest sense of the word, " the Church " includes all baptised persons. But in connection with the question of doctrinal authority, the term is used in a somewhat narrower sense, meaning only the totality of *normal* baptised persons, those who constitute the concrete, historical society which is visibly and externally continuous with

[1] *Works*, vol. iv. 895.

the community founded by Christ. Where and what is the Church in this sense? At the present moment our answer must necessarily be somewhat different from that which would be given by our Roman brethren, because their answer would be one which excludes us from the Church. But if we could travel back for ten centuries, on some Time Machine like that imagined by Mr. H. G. Wells, we should find ourselves, as English Catholics, able to give an answer identical with that given by all other Catholics everywhere, from the Hebrides to the Taurus. For the first thousand years of the Christian era there was only one body which could reasonably claim for itself the name of the Catholic or Universal Church; the Zenonian and Photian schisms, though they temporarily interrupted peaceful relations between its Eastern and Western areas, did not destroy its essential structure or identity. I refer to the body which is called by Principal Rainy "the ancient Catholic Church," and by Professor Harnack "the Great Church." Of this majestic, world-embracing, supernatural society St. Cyril of Jerusalem says, in a splendid passage quoted by Dr. Headlam in his recent Bampton lectures:

"It is called Catholic because it stands over the whole world, from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches universally and completely one and all the doctrines which ought to come to men's knowledge concerning things visible and invisible, things on earth and things in Heaven; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of mankind, governors and governed, learned and unlearned; and because it is the universal physician and healer of every kind of sin, whether committed by the soul or the body, and possesses in itself every form of virtue which is named in deed and in word and in every kind of spiritual gift." [1]

Dr. Headlam adds, "The important thing for us to notice is that during all this period there was one definite, visible society which could rightly claim this name, and that there was no apparent rival, no other body which could compete with it. The Church which claimed to be such *was* the Universal Church, and a person looking at it from outside would have little difficulty in identifying it." It would still be maintained by the overwhelming majority of Christians that this vast, undivided Church was the true Church, the divinely inspired interpreter of the Apostolic tradition.

That is a consoling fact which does not seem to me to have received sufficient emphasis—the fact that, deep and embittered as is the divergence of belief between the Roman and the Eastern communions as to where the Catholic Church is *now*, there is complete agreement as to where it *was* until 1054. Both recite the Creed of Nicaea and Constantinople in their liturgies, both accept the great Œcumenical councils, both venerate as their fathers in the faith St. Hilary and St. Basil, St. Augustine of Hippo and St. John of Damascus.

If, then, we may postpone for the moment the question as to what

[1] *Catech.*, xviii. 23; quoted in *The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion*, p. 107.

is the present condition and what are the present boundaries of "the Church," and focus our attention solely upon "the Church" as it was during the great formative period of Christian doctrine, and if we take what was actually taught by it during the undivided period, and still is taught in common by the two greatest of Christian bodies—the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox—as authoritative, we shall find that we have a perfectly definite and coherent body of information about God, man, our destiny in the next world, and the way of salvation in this. And there is really no reasonable doubt as to what was taught by the undivided Catholic Church before 1054; its teaching is recorded for all men to see in the Creed, in the definitions of the councils, in the general teaching of the fathers, in its liturgies and devotions. Let us consider, firstly, to what the teaching of the undivided Church commits us, and, secondly, to what it does *not* commit us.

The doctrine of the "Great Church," as it stood on the eve of 1054, includes, first of all, the main fabric of Trinitarian and Christological dogma, including, of course, the beliefs in our Lord's virginal Birth, bodily Resurrection, and Ascension into Heaven; the presuppositions of Christian soteriology known as the doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin; belief in Christ's atoning Death as objectively bringing within our reach that salvation which we could never have earned for ourselves; the doctrines of the Sacraments as the means of grace, of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice; of the grace of Orders and the necessity of the episcopal succession from the Apostles of the Church's absolving power in Penance; of Confirmation and Unction; of the Communion of Saints; and of the last things, Heaven and Hell, and the intermediate state, and the Last Judgment. There is surely enough information here to satisfy even the most passionate cravings for dogmatic authority; the map is surely definite enough for even the most timorous sailor to steer by.

On the other hand, it is equally important to remember what is not included in this body of teaching. The doctrine of the Holy Undivided Church of the seven general councils does not include the *Filioque* (a matter of which we shall have more to say presently); it does not include, as a matter of necessary belief, the view that purgatory involves pain, however probable this view may appear in itself to be; though it concedes a primacy of honour to the Bishop of Rome, it does not attribute to him either a supremacy of jurisdiction or a personal infallibility; whilst it affirms the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, it leaves open the question of the precise way in which this inspiration acted, thus enabling Catholic theologians to move with ease in the worlds of biblical and historical scholarship; whilst it maintains the objectivity of our Saviour's sacrifice for sin, it does not tie us down either to the Cappadocian, the Anselmian, the Lutheran, or any other particular method of conceiving its *modus operandi*; whilst its developed Eucharistic doctrine is, no doubt, amply consistent with the later Western cultus of the Reserved Sacrament, it cannot be said to compel or

necessitate this cultus. And it is entirely free from the mass of fantastic " pious opinions " elaborated by the Schoolmen and their successors on the basis of a pre-critical exegesis and an implicit faith in Aristotelian logic. We are not required by it to believe that hell is situated in the centre of the earth, that the fire of hell is material, that Noah was accustomed to relieve the tedium of life in the Ark by meditating on the Immaculate Conception, or that Elijah is still living, in his physical body, in some remote corner of this actual concrete universe. In the teaching of the Undivided Church we have a faith, strong and definite enough for all the practical necessaries of life, sufficiently hard and closely wrought to resist the corrosive influences of agnostic criticism, and yet elastic enough to find room within its sheltering folds for the infinite diversity of temperaments with which God has endowed His human creatures—not merely for the *dévot* or the charcoal-burner, but for the keen-eyed scientist, the single-minded historian, the lover of freedom for its own sake, the rugged, prosaic, and unimaginative types of humanity. It is capable of appealing, and has appealed, just as much to the northern or Teutonic races as to the Latin and Celtic inhabitants of the Mediterranean world. The exactness of its definition is just enough to secure it against the risk of evaporation—a fate which the sixteenth-century versions of Christianity are undergoing before our eyes; and yet it is not so rigidly crystallised in forms peculiar to a past epoch as to resist the fullest integration with the thought and accumulated knowledge of the present. A frank acceptance, on the part of Christian thinkers, of all that the Undivided Church believed—and a no less frank willingness to drop, as necessary *credenda*, any later opinions which it can *not* be shown to have believed—would be fraught with the happiest auguries for the reconciliation of the principles of supernatural Authority and free human Reason.

V

This appeal, which I have tried to sketch, behind the present divisions of Christendom to the message of the Church as it stood in the first millennium, when there could be no reasonable doubt as to what and where " the Church " was—this claim to go back behind the point of bifurcation in 1054, to which all our present confusions are ultimately traceable—is actually made, at the present day, by the second largest body in Christendom, the Holy Eastern Church. Witness the reply of the Patriarch Anthimus to Pope Leo XIII, in which, at every point, the authority of " the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Seven Œcumenical Councils " is invoked. The same claim is no less unequivocally made by representative theologians of the Old Catholic Church, such as M. Michaud.[1] And, in one shape or another, sometimes vaguely and confusedly, sometimes in clearly apprehended and lucidly expressed form, the same

[1] Cf. " Old Catholicism," *Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics.*

fundamental appeal—the only appeal that can justify any body of non-Roman Christians in claiming to be within the Catholic Church —has underlain the whole Anglo-Catholic movement, ever since the disruption of Western Christendom in the sixteenth century. At first, the appeal was made to " the primitive Church," without much attempt to think out the question, how long the " primitive Church " lasted, or when it ceased to be " primitive." In this somewhat undefined form we see the appeal expressed, against Rome and Geneva alike, by the thirtieth canon of 1604, or by the injunction imposed upon preachers by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1571, only to teach " what is agreeable to Holy Scripture, or what the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of the same." Perhaps it is due to the non-speculative character of the English temperament that so few attempts were made to define " the primitive Church." Jewel's attempt to draw a line at the close of the " first six centuries " (an attempt which has been renewed in more modern times) was seen to be purely arbitrary, and before the rise of the Oxford Movement Anglican divines were for the most part content to leave the question as to the exact length of the " primitive " epoch shrouded in a discreet vagueness. One notable exception deserves to be mentioned—the saintly Bishop Ken, who in his will declared " I die in the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Faith, as *professed by the whole Church before the division of East and West.*" [1] Though Ken was not a professional theologian, and though he may not have realised all that was covered by this appeal, he had enough acumen and synoptic breadth of view to see that the history of Christendom divides itself organically into two, and only two, great periods—the first millennium, when there was no doubt as to where the Catholic Church was, ending with the Great Schism of 1054; and the period subsequent to that disastrous event, in which we are still living. It is not necessary to quote from the works of Dr. Pusey, Dr. Neale, or Dr. Littledale to show that the conception of doctrinal authority underlying the Oxford Movement was the same as that formulated by Bishop Ken. It is, of course, the case that the Catholic movement has not yet succeeded—though we have no doubt that it will ultimately succeed—in what is the chief of its preliminary tasks on the intellectual side—that of convincing all members of the Anglican communion that " primitive Christendom " cannot mean anything other than " undivided, pre-1054 Christendom." As an instance of the vagueness which still survives in this regard, we may perhaps, without disrespect, quote the preamble to the Constitution of the Church of Ireland, which there declares itself " to profess the faith of Christ as professed by the primitive Church," without defining what it means by " the primitive Church." On the other hand, the Constitution of the General Synod of Australia declares that the Churches in communion with Canterbury throughout the world " hold the one faith, revealed in Holy Writ, and defined in the creeds as maintained by the undivided primitive Church

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxx. 402.

in the undisputed Œcumenical Councils "—a remarkable declaration, when we remember that the influence of the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century has not perhaps been so great in Australia as in other parts of the Anglican communion. There have indeed from time to time been those who have not been satisfied with this simple and straightforward appeal to the Undivided Church ; and attempts have occasionally been made—as by " Ideal Ward," the late Dr. F. G. Lee, and a great friend of my own, who shall remain nameless—to treat the modern papacy as an infallible authority on all points, *except* the crucial one of the necessity of communion with itself. But I am sure that the last mentioned would now agree with me that such attempts have never represented the real mind of Anglo-Catholicism, and have invariably collapsed through their inherent want of logic.

Leaving these sporadic attempts out of account, we may sum up our results as follows : (1) The English Church, as from the moment of the breach with Rome, always has appealed, for its doctrinal authority, to the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by " the primitive Church " ; (2) For the most part, its theologians have been content to leave the question " What was the primitive Church? " untouched, merely assuming that the " primitive " period must at least include the first four Œcumenical Councils ; (3) It has been the special work of the Oxford Movement to elucidate this appeal to antiquity, to show that acceptance of the first four Councils logically involves acceptance of the first seven, and to point out that no term can be set to " primitive antiquity " earlier than the Great Schism. If, then, we are interrogated as to what we believe, and on what authority we believe it, we have, as Anglo-Catholics, a perfectly clear and intelligible reply ready. We can say, " We believe in the Catholic faith as contained in the Scriptures and expounded by the primitive, that is, the undivided Church of the first Christian millennium."

VI

I have devoted most of my time to laying the foundations of our theory of authority, as I hope, strong and deep, and can only touch in the briefest way upon the questions which naturally arise. It may be objected : " All this exposition had reference to the Church as it *was* nine hundred years ago ; but what we want to know is, where is the Church now, and how can we hear its ' living voice ' ? " It follows from what we have said that " the Church " cannot be exclusively identified with any one existing society. Since the disaster of 1054 " the Church " is constituted by the totality of those bodies which are historically descended from the " Great Church," and retain its characteristic triple structure, dogmatic, hierarchical, and sacramental. In other words, for us, as for all other Christians who claim to be Catholics in the sense in which St. Ignatius and St. Augustine used the term, and who are not able

to accept the strict papal view, no theory of the Church is possible other than what is called the " Branch theory." This is a matter of which the logic is absolutely inexorable. There is not, and there never can be, any alternative to the Roman theory other than the " Branch theory." Much criticism has been levelled at the " Branch theory " from within the Roman communion, but it is worth while pointing out that that communion contains within itself a practical example of the " Branch theory " on a small scale, in the shape of the Franciscan Order, which to-day consists of the three distinct and externally separate families of the Friars Minor, Conventuals, and Capuchins. Each of these bodies has its own Minister-General, and is entirely independent of the other two. They are bound together, not by any one external governmental authority, but by their common possession of the rule, the habit, and the spirit of St. Francis—that is, the essential structure of Franciscanism. The Holy See has declared that no one of these bodies is entitled to set up an exclusive claim to *be* the whole Franciscan Order, which consists of all three taken together ; and we venture to hope that some day it may see its way to apply the same principle to those bodies—Roman, Anglican, Eastern, and Old Catholic—which retain the essential structure of the Catholicism of " the Great Church." As for the " living voice " of the Church thus conceived, anyone who wants to hear it has only to hire a taxi some Sunday morning, and time his movements in such a way that he can assist at the singing of the Nicene Creed in English at St. Paul's, in Latin at Westminster Cathedral, and in Greek at the Greek Church in Bayswater. If it is urged that the " Branch theory " has a consensus of the branches against it, we deny the fact. Those who were present at the great Serbian service in St. Paul's last December, and saw an Eastern bishop give his episcopal blessing from the Western altar, will not need any further proof that the narrow theory of M. Androutsos is merely a view which is held *in* the Eastern Church, and not the view universally held by that Church. And as for the *Filioque*, whilst it is certainly difficult to defend the action of the Western Church in interpolating the Œcumenical Creed, we hold it, for the time being, as a matter of private judgment and subject to an appeal to a future Council, which we doubt not will endorse its use in the sense agreed upon by representatives of the East and West at the Council of Florence, and confirmed, four hundred years later, by other representatives of East and West at the Conference of Bonn.

VII

Perhaps I may still seem, in spite of the explanations I gave just now, to have wandered away from the question of the authority of the Church, and to have occupied myself too exclusively with questions regarding its nature and structure. I can only urge that in order to know with certainty which is the true map, we must

first of all know who is the divinely appointed navigating officer—who is its lawful custodian. And I would end by emphasising once more the fact that—dry and technical as all this talk about councils, traditions, and Scriptures may seem to our critics without—for us, who know the Catholic system from within, both Church and Bible are nothing but transparent veils through which we see the glory of God in the face of JESUS CHRIST; that through and beyond them our eyes look to the great Admiral of the Universe, the Word of God, through Whom both the ocean and the ship came into being; Who has, through His Holy Spirit, drawn the map with unerring veracity; and Who will, one day, "beyond this bourne of time and place," welcome the storm-tossed mariners into the joy of their Lord.

IV

OUR POSITION

B. AUTHORITY AND DISCIPLINE

By Leighton Pullan

What is discipline? According to the oldest English use of the word it is punishment—punishment inflicted by way of correction or training. In present Roman theology the word has tended towards the same use. It was formerly applied to the rules of canon law, so that the disciplinary canons of the councils were distinguished from the dogmatic canons. But of recent years liturgical questions as well as dogmatic questions have been excluded from the discipline of the Sacraments, and discipline in the restricted sense simply means the correction of the guilty. To-day I submit that it may be better to use it in a wider sense. So I shall speak of discipline as the system by which order is maintained in the Church and control exercised over her members. And authority is the right to enforce obedience to that system. Now our religion is the religion of authority, because it is the religion of the Spirit. The source of all authority is our Lord Jesus Christ, who is present in the Church through the Spirit whom He sent. His authority is definite. "In Him," says St. Paul, "is the yea: wherefore also through Him is the Amen."

He founded a Church and He entrusted to that Church the power to loose and to bind. No genuine critical study of the New Testament has undermined that fact, or undermined the fact that through the apostles whom He chose there were given to other officials such apostolic functions as were necessary for the permanent, ordered life of the Church. It was not in the power of any group of Christians to separate from the original body and constitute a new Church, or give spiritual powers to any persons whom they might select as more active or devout than the bishops of the Church. Any such action is an infringement of the crown rights of Jesus Christ. The primitive Christian was under discipline. I have heard a great Jewish rabbi describe Judaism as "a discipline of life." And the primitive Christian, the member of the new Israel, was under a deeper discipline because he held a wider creed. He was under the law of loving what Christ loves and hating what Christ hates. In a synagogue the silver lamp burns before the scrolls of the law of Moses. In a church the silver lamp burns before the presence of

Him who is not only " infinitely far," but is also in us as members of His Body.

Now I take for granted that the Church of England is part of that Church which Christ founded. It is part of it by both continuity and unity. Our Prayer Book implies that our Church is part of a greater whole. It bears on its title page this inscription: " The Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England." This puts the Church first, and the Church of England second. It claims the right to express Christian worship in a form both Catholic and national. Our two English provinces are therefore pledged to an international system. They are not free to act as if they formed the whole Church. There is a sense in which the Anglican Church stands for Home Rule. But it does not stand for Sinn Fein. Our motto is not " ourselves." And just as it is wrong to secure the protection of the State by the betrayal of Christian ethics, so it is wrong to buy off public opinion by compromising the constitution of the Church. Hitherto we have kept that constitution. In the eleventh century the Patriarch of Constantinople struck the name of the Pope off the diptychs. In the sixteenth century Pope Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth. But this gives us neither the right nor the desire to reverse anything which the undivided Church enacted in favour of Pope or Patriarch, or to widen existing breaches by doubtful innovations in discipline.

The Apostolic Church, our Church, though not ours only, was a Church under authority. The apostles adjusted the relations of Jewish and Gentile Christians, and instituted the observance of the Lord's Day. St. Paul proves to us what an apostle claimed and did. He describes his commission as not from men, but from God. Therefore he can assert his position against rivals. It is his duty to impart traditions, to be an example of Christian life, to be judge even in his absence. Doctrine and morals and worship are subjects of his care. His authority is paternal: he does not desire to use it unless necessary: he exercises it with the concurrence of the Church. By establishing a system of penance the bishops of the primitive Church did much to secure purity of both conduct and doctrine. Sins of idolatry and unchastity were specially dealt with by strict ecclesiastical discipline. Evidence favours the conclusion that the general standard of Christian conduct was a high standard. Excommunication was regarded as involving a real and serious loss of sacred privileges. If it had not been so, few if any offenders would have submitted to the humiliating process which was undergone by an offender who wished to be restored to the Church. And for nearly four hundred years no person who had been guilty of unchastity or idolatry was permitted to receive absolution if he repeated his sin. In some places certain presbyters assisted the bishops in dealing with the penitents. In some the laity shared in the work of helping the bishop by presenting formal petitions for their absolution.

Heresy presented a more complicated problem. It was regarded as a sin akin to idolatry. Heretics were systematically excommunicated. Thus Sabellius was excommunicated by Callistus, and the Modernist Paul of Samosata by a Council of Antioch, and Arius by his bishop and a Council at Alexandria. The purpose of the penitential system was both to protect the Church and to lead the sinner to repentance. We find at an early date a bishop's court which included his presbyters and deacons, and we also find judgment exercised by synods of many bishops. The period of the first four Œcumenical Councils saw a notable development in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. At first no provision was made for appeals by bishops from provincial synods sitting in first instance. Before long this was granted, and the right of appeal by a layman or cleric from episcopal excommunication was extended. We may note the minute care for procedure observed at the third and fourth Œcumenical Councils, which acted as tribunals for the trials of heretical bishops. Time forbids me to trace at length what happened in the Middle Ages. The system of synods was largely replaced by a system of courts. The bishop, often laden with secular business, was eclipsed by the archdeacon, and the diocesan synod by the consistory court. And on the basis of the impudent False Decretals the hands of bishops were strengthened against their metropolitans, and the doctrine taught that episcopal causes can be decided only in Rome. In the meantime Rome became what a Venetian ambassador described as " the sewer of the world " ; Christian morality was weakened by the example of its vice, and Christian penance by the traffic in indulgences.

After the Reformation the Jesuits on the one hand, and the Calvinists on the other, tried to erect their own system of discipline which should absolutely control the life of every Christian. Both these systems touched English life. But the Church of England as a whole kept free from both. The discipline maintained by our bishops and archdeacons was often a serious discipline. Frequent efforts were made to secure orderly worship and regular fasting as well as good morals. In and after the close of the seventeenth century many causes contributed to the decay of discipline. Among them was the gradual weakening of the medieval conception—a conception which lingers in some of our more expensive newspapers—that Church and State are two aspects of one community. Side by side with this was the suspension of Convocation by which the State strangled the Church. And thirdly, there was that growth of religious individualism which was supremely anxious to save souls, but was indifferent to the Church as the " august society of the saints."[1] There were few bishops to copy the fearless devotion of Bishop Wilson, few preachers who bound faith and works together like Fletcher of Madeley.

In the first half of the nineteenth century men so different as

[1] See the striking passage in Dr. Dale's *The Old Evangelicalism and the New*, pp. 16, 17.

Dr. Arnold and Dr. Pusey were longing for a truer manifestation of the Church. But we know what happened. It became daily clearer that Church and State are not a single community, but the State acted as if they were, and ought to be. In the second half of the nineteenth century discipline had become distorted beyond recognition. In every diocese the bishop was a Pope. In the case of the laity, Church discipline in respect of sexual offences remained in theory, but not in practice, and in London licences could be bought for marriages which were no marriages. Little remained except a slight control over certain lay office-bearers of the Church. In the meantime, the unfortunate clergy were prosecuted and imprisoned for doing their duty. It can be urged that though the decisions of the secular courts directed against Catholic clergymen were ignorant and unjust, any decisions made by proper ecclesiastical courts would have been no less fatuous and cruel. That begs the question. The truth is that if diocesan and provincial synods had been in healthy working order, and had guided themselves by the customs of the whole Church, these disgraceful proceedings would have been impossible.

In recent times English bishops have enjoyed a unique degree of liberty.[1] They are exempt from the modern laws by which the State has endeavoured to control the priests, and they have not been called to account by their fellow-bishops in a provincial synod. In this unique position how far have they, as a body, during the last sixty years acted as the guardians of the Sacraments and the orthodoxy of the Church? Have they tolerated the needless postponement of Baptism? Have they tolerated or encouraged the postponement of Confirmation, a practice which is also entirely uncanonical? Have they neglected to regulate Penance? Have they impressed upon the people the obligation of the Sunday Eucharist? Have they provided their clergy with the means of administering the apostolic rite of Anointing the Sick? Have any approved the giving of Holy Communion to schismatics who have had no intention of being confirmed? Have any interfered for no just or reasonable cause with the Reservation of the Sacrament for the sick? Are they seriously restraining the persistent attacks made by "libertine scribblers" upon the truth of the New Testament? Is it not a fact that as a rule the clergymen who propagate German Unitarianism under the name of modern Churchmanship enjoy peace and even promotion? Even our theological hostels are not free from teaching which is frankly hostile to the historical faith of the Church. Blasphemy concerning the Birth and Resurrection and Person of our Lord has been treated by our bishops more tenderly than Benediction. I plead for exact obedience, but I protest against this lop-sided injustice.

The result of this injustice is the spread of a mixture of anarchy and sentimentalism among some who prize the name of Catholic.

[1] See Sir W. G. F. Phillimore, "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. viii (eleventh edition), p. 862.

Now in what way can we best promote the restoration of discipline? A wall of the Church is tottering. How can we drive into common earth the piles which are needed for the support of a firm new wall? That is our immediate purpose. Our purpose is to strengthen the Catholic Church as a whole by strengthening the Church of England.

1. We must show a patient fidelity to the Prayer Book, unless a grave reason makes this impossible.

2. We must give clearer teaching with regard to the nature of sin, repentance, and absolution.

3. We must eagerly support every bishop who is endeavouring to fight against unbelief and against the abominations of divorce, unchastity, and the misuse of marriage.

4. The faithful must make a united protest in any diocese where the bishop or a priest is known to have violated both the spirit and the letter of the Church's rule; for instance by giving Communion to unreconciled and unconfirmed schismatics, or by permitting such persons to preach in our churches. The ministry of the Word, like the ministry of the Sacraments, belongs to the Church.

5. We must at once demand that ordination candidates shall not be put under the instruction of persons who are teaching German rationalism under such names as "liberalism" or "the creed of a modern Churchman."

Now a word as to Church courts. We assume that the existing ecclesiastical courts represent some intrusion on the part of the secular power, an intrusion which we have the moral right to resent. Let us have proper courts and synods. To a great extent the facts with regard to the history and meaning of Christian worship are known to scholars. Is it impossible that there should be diocesan and provincial courts which can put into practice what is known? The new National Assembly, without in any way claiming an authority which it does not possess, could advise and support our provincial synods in erecting the proper courts. It might do so, and do it promptly.

These courts must be guided by principle. The principle is that in all decisions due regard must be paid to the right relation of a national Church to the "Church Universal." In respect of any wide consensus of Church authority on a point of discipline, the extreme limit of independence claimed by the Church of England is in the permission granted to clergymen to marry after ordination. This permission might be defended on the grounds that men in the north of Europe are not fit to marry so young as in the south, on the economic conditions which make early marriages impossible, and the difficulty of finding a difference in principle between marriage before and marriage after ordination. No similar reasons could be alleged in opposition to such salutary customs as fasting Communion, Confession at Easter, and attendance at the Eucharist every Sunday. With regard to ceremonies, a national Church may change ceremonies "ordained only by man's authority." When it says that, our

Thirty-fourth Article says nothing new. But ceremonies ordained by man do not all stand upon the same level. Our Twentieth Article affirms that "the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies," though it may not ordain anything contrary to God's Word. And when the Church, the whole Church, has ordained a rite or ceremony of importance, only a grave reason could render the suppression of such a ceremony by a national Church opportune. No suppression of an important universal custom can possibly be opportune unless the custom is in some way injurious to the faith or morals of this or that group of Christians. It is a matter of the spirit rather than the letter. Let me illustrate my meaning. The custom of giving the kiss of peace was Catholic, primitive, apostolic; but the Church greatly modified the ceremony in different countries, because a time came when new social manners made the old custom morally undesirable. On the other hand, there are ceremonies and ornaments which could hardly be abolished without casting a slur upon the Catholic faith. It is conceivable that an ignorant national Church might abolish the primitive practice of mixing water with the wine used at the liturgy. This was apparently first done by Armenians, who abolished the mixed chalice in token of their dislike of the orthodox teaching about the union of the human nature with the divine nature of our Lord. No one with a Catholic spirit would desire to follow such a precedent.

There is such a thing as a Catholic spirit. It is consistent with true patriotism; and it can appeal to the facts of history verified by historical science. But it is wider than our Fatherland and deeper than the letter written on parchment. It is not the spirit of the man or the Church that asks how little need I believe, how little need I practise, how little need I give, to claim a share in the grand pedigree, the noble buildings, and the valuable endowments of Catholic Christianity. It is a different spirit. It is in its essence that love of Jesus which is thankful to Him for His Church. It is at home with the saints. It is humbled by the sight of the countless flowers in the divine garden of the soul. It welcomes the thought of new countries added to the faith, new manifestations of the everlasting Gospel, new devotions, new illustrations of the creed. It remembers the example of those who have rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's Name. It finds refreshment in the very things which the world imagines to be an intolerable burden. It is guided by that wisdom of which it is written that she is "the mother of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope."

IV

OUR POSITION

C. THE LIMITS OF TOLERATION

By Francis Underhill

It is the duty of the Church to hold together in unity persons who differ widely in temperament, in opportunity, and in outlook. This function presses more heavily, perhaps, on the Church of England at the present time than on any other body of Christians. It is a deep sorrow of many of her children that she does it so imperfectly; it is our unceasing prayer that in the future the Holy Spirit will enable her to fulfil more perfectly the great task which He has laid upon her.

It is with this hope that the present paper will be chiefly concerned. The relation of the Catholic body within the English Church with the Churches of Rome and of the East, with other religious bodies, and with those movements which are loosely grouped together under the term Modernism, are being dealt with by other speakers. I am able, therefore, to circumscribe my subject in such a way as to *limit* it to the discussion of tolerable diversity within the Church of England itself, and more particularly to our relation with what are known as the Moderate and Evangelical parties within the Church. We regard this relation, as we are bound to do, from the point of view of those who accept the faith and follow the method of historical Catholicism. We do not feel at all happy about our mutual relations as they stand. Can anything be done to improve them?

1. It will be necessary to start with a brief review of the present situation. It has been claimed by many persons on behalf of the Church of England that she is comprehensive; that she includes, in fact, many persons of widely different "views." And it would indeed be a blessed claim if she could say that she had attained such comprehensiveness as would include all who accept essential Catholic Christianity in the bond of peace. But that, unhappily, is not so as yet; she has achieved diversity, but not unity in diversity. To be holding precariously together a number of different parties, with different ideals, suspicious one of the other, is not comprehension at all; it is a state which is dangerously near to disruption. If it be said that this is an exaggeration of the present state of things, I only ask that we should remind ourselves of the normal atmosphere of Church of England assemblies. We all know the precarious balance of parties; the smoulder-

ing suspicions which blaze up so quickly when they are fanned by a faint breath of controversy; the misunderstandings which so constantly and so easily occur. This atmosphere is found in the highest assemblies; it permeates our diocesan and ruri-decanal conferences; it extends itself into every sub-committee; it produces disunion and unrest wherever the Church of England is at work, and in many of the other Churches in communion with her.

The consequences are appalling. There is waste of power everywhere. An incalculable amount of intellectual energy is used up in controversy, which ought to be devoted to the positive extension of the Kingdom of God. Our spiritual atmosphere is attenuated; for who can give himself to the things of God as he should, when so much of his work is the object of ceaseless and bitter attack by the members of his own communion? Worst of all, our disunion has earned for us the contempt of much that is noble in the life of the nation; it is alienating from the Church countless souls for whom we are responsible in the sight of God.

What can we do? Is there any way in which peace can be found? Can we agree to any kind of mutual toleration, within possible limits? We who are met together at this Congress are convinced Catholics, bound by certain unalterable principles, which it is not in our power to change, even if we would. But we are also utterly weary of religious strife, and we long eagerly for some bond of peace with our fellow-members of the English Church. We believe that what we know as Catholicism, in its widest sense, is true, and will prevail within the Church of England; but we know that we cannot force upon our Moderate and Evangelical brethren all that we hold to be desirable. We do not wish to do so; but at the same time we will never submit to be deprived of our rightful heritage in the Church of England. Is it possible, then, for us to live together in unity? And if so, on what terms?

2. Let us thankfully admit that as regards the great central doctrines of the faith, the bodies known roughly as Catholics, Moderates, and Evangelicals are one. (I deliberately leave the question of liberal theology to the professional theologians.) There is no difference between us in our belief in the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation and the Atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, His Virgin Birth and Bodily Resurrection, and His Second Coming, the Godhead and Personality of the Holy Spirit. Here the vast majority of English Church-people agree entirely already. And further, we can say, if it be really necessary to say it, that we have not the slightest wish to turn them out of the Church. I should not even mention such a thing, if it were not that I have had personal assurance that this suspicion is entertained seriously by responsible Evangelicals. Nor do we wish to deprive them of the forms of worship to which they are accustomed, nor to force upon them forms which are uncongenial to them. Indeed, it is becoming clear to many people that there is room for a good deal of variety in our way of presenting essential Catholicism, including very simple forms for

those who do not find themselves happy in highly ceremonial worship. In what may be called single-church areas, for instance, it should be possible to provide everything which is necessary for the Catholic life, while not breaking away from a simplicity of outward presentment to which the majority of the people have become accustomed in the course of the centuries. It would appear extremely likely, moreover, that this kind of simplicity is very much more in accord with pre-Reformation ideals than the attempt to reproduce in every village church the model of the Evangelical, or the Moderate, or the Catholic cathedral. A comparision with the presentation of Catholicism in most parts of the continent of Europe strengthens this probability.

3. But it will be necessary to look deeper into our problem ; for neither our agreement to combine on the central doctrines, nor a mutual toleration of divergent forms of worship, will meet the situation as it exists. So we come to two questions which have been facing us all the time. They are these: (*a*) Are our differences irreconcileable ? (*b*) If not, how shall we arrive at a mutual understanding by which persons moving on the various lines of thought and method in the Church of England may live together in permanent unity ?

That there is a real longing on all sides to live and let live cannot be denied. The evidence of speeches made at the Church Congress and the Islington Conference last year, and in many other places, proves that, at least.

4. Are our differences irreconcileable ? Again we look at things from a point of view of convinced Catholics. But it is worth while at this point to ask ourselves whether for some time there has not been a tendency among us to regard as essentials, unconsciously, and in practice, some matters which are not fundamental ? Have we not sometimes, unthinkingly, set the standard of essential Catholicism too high ? Are we not in some danger of regarding accretions—venerable, attractive, and beloved as they are—as necessary parts of our position ? I am not suggesting that we ourselves should cease to claim them, or should give them up. I daresay we are right in praying that those who do not yet love them should come to accept them. I am sure that they are of the greatest value in the production of the kind of atmosphere we want for the training of souls. But let us be careful not to demand the acceptance of them by all our brethren as part of the unalterable deposit of historic Catholicism. Let us recognise that much which is dear, and familiar, and congenial to us—which seems even necessary for us, just because it has become so congenial—is not part of the ultimate essence of that faith and practice which fidelity to the Gospel of Christ demands that we should require of all who would live at unity with us.

We would ask our brethren on the other sides to examine their position too ; we may then find that some at least of our differences are not so formidable as we had supposed.

I wish it were possible to enter into detail at this point; but

my time is limited. All I can say is that I most earnestly hope to see as a result of this Congress the setting up of many conferences which will deal frankly with the kind of matters we have in mind, and which are at present dividing us from the Moderate and Evangelical parties. All I am pleading for now is that we shall all examine carefully the ultimate bases of our positions, and that we should distinguish between the matters which are essential and unalterable, and those divergences which can be tolerated in one another. We have all been too fond of emphasising what we cannot accept, and not what we can.

5. But it will no doubt be urged that while we may perhaps arrive at an agreement on some points, there will still remain divergencies on matters which are very important indeed, and which it is impossible for honest men on either side to gloss over. The criticism may be made that if we are not careful we shall find ourselves compromising real principles in our desire for a unity which after all will be illusory. This danger is far too real and pressing to-day to be disregarded by any true lover of peace ; let us, therefore, be perfectly candid about the difficulty.

We cannot but regret deeply, for instance, we of the Catholic school, that a doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament is taught in many churches in England which appears to make the Presence dependent and conditional upon the subjective emotions of the individual worshipper. We regret deeply that in more churches still the remedy against post-baptismal sin which our Lord has provided in Sacramental Absolution is almost unknown and unused ; and that those who attend these churches are taught little or nothing of the joy of conscious fellowship with the blessed dead, expressed in praying for them and asking their prayers for us. We must always oppose breaches of Catholic order. Yet we may recognise gladly that our brethren have the intention of teaching the Catholic faith as it stands in the Creeds, and nothing else ; that, as we know, they are entirely at one with us on the great central doctrines ; that their devotion to our Lord is such as it would be impertinent in us to praise ; and that they are bringing forth richly the fruits of the spiritual life. When all has been said, we have to remember that while the facts of the position of the Church of England to-day may be abnormal, they are facts, and our plans for better things must be based on what actually exists. We believe that in time the Holy Spirit will lead all Christians to accept the essence of what we know as Catholicism. We believe that this Catholicism is most truly in accord with the mind of our Lord as revealed in the Gospel. In the meantime we are living together, not very happily, with many holy men and women who are with us on the central doctrines, but on some points of admittedly great importance do not accept what we accept. Can we not agree as far as is possible, and differ lovingly where we do not agree ?

Our brothers must not be angry because we try to convert them to those things which we are convinced are true. Would the con-

victions of anyone be worth having if he did not want to extend to others what he so richly enjoys? And do not they want to convert us, at least from those things which they believe to be errors? We must be frank with one another: and yet, when that is said, it is still true that the only road to peace is through honest respect for one another's convictions. Compromise on principle will never do—in any case it is impossible. If it were possible it would be unreal. In any part of the Church which tries to fulfil the ideal of unity in diversity there must and will always be divergence—even wide divergence—on matters which are not essential.

The omens are good. I am sure we saw in some of the papers read at the Church Congress and at the Islington Conference last year a strong desire for understanding. I am sure that if we hold out our hand towards our brethren in the Church of England, we shall not meet with a refusal. And so I would ask whether we cannot come to a truce from our weary party strife; a truce not limited as to time, but preparing for that happy day when there is complete concord between us? Can we not co-operate on the basis of our common faith in the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Second Coming of our Lord, and upon our common devotion to the historic English Church which we all desire to serve?

We need one another so much. Neville Talbot, in his book called *Thoughts on Unity*, asks the question "Are not Catholicism and Evangelicalism necessary to one another?" Yes, we have much to learn from one another. The antithesis commonly made between the two great schools of Christianity often errs on the side of exaggeration. I think Neville Talbot himself, in the book I have mentioned, errs in that way. There is already far more interaction than we commonly realise. There are temperaments naturally Evangelical among the Catholics; there are temperaments naturally Catholic among the Evangelicals. You cannot claim the exclusive possession of any virtue on either side; nor can you condemn either for the monopoly of specific faults. There is already very much in common; but we want that to be understood, admitted, and acted upon. Let there be a truce of God between us.

6. I think that two opposite criticisms, among others, will be brought against this paper. Some of my friends will say that it shows a dangerous tendency towards surrender; that once you get on to the slippery slope of accommodation, you never know where you will find yourself in the end; that we serve our Lord best by an insistence on the necessity of the entire Catholic position as it is to-day, in all its most detailed workings. To this I would answer that the Catholicism of the future will be a very much bigger thing than the Catholicism of yesterday or to-day; that altered circumstances are calling us in no uncertain tones to-day to modifications in various directions; that we must be prepared to act constructively in such matters as obviously call for reform; "that we discover in ourselves and disclose to others things valuable for the life of the whole Church." The fundamentals must always remain;

but their implications are always developing, and their manifestations often changing. It is in this sense that we have many profitable lessons to learn from our brethren about the extension of the Kingdom of God.

And the other criticism is that my paper is a peddling one, after all ; that it deals with a little problem ; that the domestic affairs of the Church of England are small enough conpared with the great march of the Kingdom of God; and that we need to see a bigger vision than our own home politics.

Yes, but charity begins at home, after all. Here is a problem which is unsolved, soluble, and ready to hand. Let us get this settled anyway ; then we shall be in a better frame of mind for the bigger affairs ; then we shall see more clearly the way to the unity of all Christendom. It is only when she has got her own house into order that the Church of England will be able to fulfil that great destiny which the Holy Spirit seems to be unfolding before her.

IV

OUR POSITION

D. OUR IDEAL

By the Lord Bishop of Zanzibar

The Bishop of Zanzibar did not write a paper. He spoke twice on "Our Ideal."

I. He drew a picture of the Ideal Bishop. The bishop is—
  (i) Father of his flock—accessible to all.
  (ii) A constitutional governor—
    (*a*) ruling in and with his synod of priests;
    (*b*) in harmony with the laity;
    (*c*) sitting in a provincial synod;
    (*d*) representing the universal Church to his diocese, and exercising a veto upon its resolutions;
    (*e*) having a seat in a constitutional General Council, under a constitutional Pope.

II. The Ideal Diocese, on the other hand,
  (i) is a local expression of the universal Church—
    (*a*) ignoring distinctions based on colour, caste, class, money, etc.;
    (*b*) solving for its own members the problems of Capital *v.* Labour.
  (ii) is a missionary body—
    (*a*) set to manifest eternal love in its common life to all about it;
    (*b*) zealous to convert its own neighbours;
    (*c*) zealous to win the peoples overseas;
    (*d*) determined to oppose all exploitation of the weaker peoples.

III. Our great need at the present moment is the disestablishment of the world from its position of power within the Church.

The Anglo-Catholic party, priests and people, must concentrate on such an external manifestation of its faith as will make men see—
  (i) The Naked Christ of Calvary as our Ideal.
  (ii) The Coloured Christ of Nazareth as our centre of Brotherhood.

V

CHRISTIAN UNITY

A. THE CHURCH OF ROME

By E. M. Milner-White

I

It is a pure and wholly noble passion, the passion for unity. It filled the Sacred Heart of Jesus when He revealed it clearest, speaking not to men, but to the Father, on the eve of death. It has been and must always be the passion of the Catholic Church and her unending prayer.

No one will deny that the hunger and thirst after unity are conspicuous in the Church of England to-day. It takes the eminently Anglo-Saxon form of a desire for a series of external reunions. That is natural, because Englishmen daily look upon a multitude of needless and injurious denominations, and are ashamed. Outward reunion is very important indeed, but the unity pleaded for by Christ is a far bigger and deeper thing. Our weakness and lack of faith and understanding does demand that unity clothe itself in visible garment; but it were not wise to imagine unity is fundamentally a matter of external reunion.

In the Church of Rome the thirst for unity is no less great, but it does not take the form at all of desiring reunion. Let us make clear at once the fact that Rome has shown as yet no desire whatever to approach other communions, even her sister of undisputed Catholicity in the East, on any terms other than those of demanding unconditional submission. Does that mean she cares nothing for unity? Why, her whole history is one of devotion to it. The love so lavishly given to the Holy Father is a love given to the unity of the Church. He is not only the symbol of Roman unity, but the instrument of it. The sovereignty, the infallibility, accorded to him has been accorded by a communion in anguish for unity. The exercise of authority, even when uncomprehending and painful, is suffered quietly in order to preserve the jewel of unity. Roman rigidity, whether in the province of thought, or of worship, or even of language, is all sacramental of unity. Often indeed the oneness of the Church seems to us to be prized by Rome above truth and above love. We do right to feel sometimes that she has gone too far in maintaining that unity cannot exist without uniformity, just as, I think, we have gone too far in thinking that external communion can exist without a sufficient measure of spiritual unity. Catholic unity is vaster than either uniformity or external communion; though as it grows it will include a true

measure of both. But we can at once say this much: that non-Roman Christendom is only now *beginning* to think seriously, *only learning how to think*, about unity problems; and that all its youthful thought is bound to be vain, one-sided, untrue, unless the long witness of Rome is all the time studied and taken gratefully into account.

However many it takes to make a quarrel, it certainly takes two to make a peace. Rome and Canterbury. Here are two communions who by the plainest witness of fact love Christ passionately, and love the one Church that He loved passionately for His sake; who together prize the title Catholic, together rejoice in their Apostolic descent and practice. In a great but angry century they quarrelled. It is really impossible for either side to divest itself of blame. It is impossible for either to deny the resulting loss, not only to themselves but to the world. Neither, for instance, could foresee the immense revolutions of political and scientific thought, the increase of continents, the expansion of British race and influence. To Rome the loss of the Northern mind, to England the isolation of her Christianity, have been disastrous. Yet face the facts: anything like reunion or intercommunion with the Church of Rome is at the moment not practical politics, because Rome will have none of it. A Roman Catholic may not even kneel down and pray with me; and even Anglo-Catholics cannot contemplate it until the Holy See interprets its history and existing facts anew, and allows its love to perfect its law.

But *unity* is a deeper and a different matter. It is not the same thing as reunion or intercommunion. Outward communion save as the result of spiritual union were vain, and not for the peace of Jerusalem, either between us and Rome or any other Christian body. And there is another fact—no less a fact and no less certain than Rome's present attitude—the fact of a deep, underlying, actually existing unity between Rome and Canterbury *now*.

It is so dangerously under-estimated, misunderstood, that I want to emphasise it. For it is a living power which has survived the starvation and isolation of three centuries, and daily grows stronger.

1. First, there is the *unity of history*. The Church of Rome and the Church of England start with 1,500 years of an identical history, an identical tradition. Both communions value this past with a right and splendid pride; both use it; both habitually do that wise and unpopular thing, *look back*. We do not hate nor repudiate these 1,500 years; far from it. For us as for Rome this coincident past is a beloved teacher and guide. The days of the Apostles, the waking of the world to love, the fire of persecution, the constancy of the Holy Order, the decisions of the great councils, the glow and beauty of ten thousand saints, the moulding of ten million lives—are ours and they are Rome's. The thought and study of either communion have dwelt upon them and dwell in them continuously.

2. There is the *unity of faith.* Our creeds are word for word—a legacy and very present help from the undivided Catholic Church. Rome of set policy allows no discussion of them; the Church of England of set policy allows free discussion here as everywhere. And even though there are individuals among us who use their right of criticism to gloss for themselves certain articles in the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, there is not the least reason to fear that a single word in them will ever be changed, or they be removed from our services. Here indeed the unity between Rome and Canterbury *works.* The rock-like witness of Rome buttresses our maintenance of the Creeds; while the intellectual defence of them to which Anglicans are forced by critics within and without gives back a perpetual justification of them before the modern world.

3. There is the *unity of worship.* Both communions are staunchly sacramental. Our respective liturgies guarantee this for ever. These remain essentially similar even in their defects. They can carry, if desired, an essentially similar ceremonial. Now the influence of liturgies tells over long spaces of time with amazing power. They represent and guard and mould through the centuries the deepest, holiest moments in the life of Holy Church. These moments Rome and we share together every day.

4. There is the *unity of fruits.* Both communions habitually produce now that most gracious of all types of saintliness, usually known simply as "Catholic." Keble, Pusey, Neale, Bishop King, and Father Stanton are only the supreme types of many hundreds among us, in the priesthood, in the cloister, in the ordinary walks of life.

5. There is the *unity of Holy Order.* To both the threefold ministry is essential. That Rome gives her chief bishop a unique authority does not ultimately prejudice this loyalty to ancient Apostolic order. Our own disputes as to whether episcopacy is of the *esse* or *bene esse* of the Church do not ultimately prejudice it either; for no Anglicans have the least intention of dispensing in fact with that to which they attach different value in theory—a fact which becomes more and more impressive with each discussion on reunion with Protestant bodies.

6. Finally, summing up the rest, there is the *unity of outlook and atmosphere.* Let me call it *the mystical unity.* It is evident in the devotional life of the Church, the use of the Church year, of prayers drawn from the same Scriptures and saints; evident, even outwardly, in the beauty of churches, music, and reverence. Both grasp the meaning and the glory of the word *Church* in such a way as to make Protestantism sometimes seem almost another religion. It extends into the most practical fields. The battle for living Catholic issues, e.g. for the ideal of Christian marriage, is fought through Europe by Rome, in Britain by us. Newman could well suffer, as he said in Roman days, the Church of England, because "it receives all that abuse and odium of dogmatism, or at least, a good deal of it, which otherwise would be directed against us."

And I would add, it is not only amongst Anglo-Catholics, but in the Church of England as a whole, that this mystical unity is apparent, although the Anglo-Catholics have redeemed it, established it and dwell most utterly in it.

7. And we must remember that both communions are in the fullest, highest communion already with one other communion—with that Communion of Saints which we daily confess at our altars, and realise in our prayers and communions. We are both but puny bodies compared with that body; compared with it so ignorant, foolish, and feeble. It shows how slight and young our thought yet is, that in no discussion upon unity that I have seen has this tremendous credal truth been mentioned, or its force reckoned with. Yet it keeps us from any despair as to the fixity of our severances; proclaims how small a portion of the Church is divided at all; and how that, divisions or no divisions, we are ever moving into a perfect unity.

A unity then already exists between the Churches of England and Rome; a real and deep *understanding*; a mystical unity—THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY. Now I do not say that this goes all the way, or is sufficient; but I do say that the inward and spiritual unity between two Christian bodies is just as important, nay, more so, if they must be contrasted, than outward reunion; without the former, the latter is a sham and a deceit. We desire both unities, inward and outward; but never let us forget that we possess that which matters most. The unity besought for us by our Lord is first of all a spiritual, a mystical unity, marvellous, profound, and true, a unity like the Unity of Persons in the Holy Trinity. Part of any refound unity of Christendom must doubtless be man-arranged, church-arranged, but the vital part must and will be God-given. Our mystical unity with Rome is almost brutally disowned and denied by many in both communions; yet there it is, clearly visible, daily developing, God-given, and, except by our own folly, indestructible.

Now it is this side of the reunion problem which has been neglected by our Evangelical brethren in their generous haste for the great peace. It is said, "Why trouble about Rome? She has slammed and bolted the door." We answer: "It is not in Rome's power to slam and bolt this door. She can indeed turn away awhile, and refuse to look at a door wider open, by Christ's mercy, to them and us, than ever before, and still opening. She cannot close it. She cannot so far command the power and truth of the spirit of God. There IS a real unity with Rome. The question is whether we too are going to despise and destroy it. God forbid; for by scorning or spoiling this imperfect but real unity which is, we scorn and spoil the œcumenical reunion which shall be.

Do not misunderstand. Not for one moment are we *content* with an imperfect unity, however real. We thirst for more. Yet mystical, supernatural unity need not be merely an invisible unity; it must, if there at all, always to some degree announce itself visibly.

We maintain that it does so now. The extent, however, to which it comes to the full, open, perfect flower of inter-communion is dependent in any age on the ignorance, folly, and sin of men, which are for ever hindering the passion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The fact is not thereby altered that to all unity spiritual, mystical unity is cardinal. The terrible magnificence of it as painted by our Lord should tell us this always. It is a central thought of St. Paul that the unity of the Church is visible because Christians are manifestly a new race. Now unity of race is always a visible fact. It ought to find full outward expression. Because it does not inevitably do so, that does not mean that there is no visible unity. Remember Poland. Five years ago the Poles belonged to three great empires. Who will maintain that they were three races? Common history, language, literature, customs, even physical appearance at once give that the lie. Nay, more, their common anguish and yearning in separation but intensified the treasure of their unity, clung to, as their one hope and solace, for nigh one hundred and fifty years. So Catholics are now visibly one race—Greek, Roman, English. We know it, feel it, love it. Who then dare blame us for care in keeping this our treasure and our life unsullied, undamaged, unlost, till the day of inter-communion?

Nor is this emphasis on the mystical view of unity merely an Anglican theory. It is a Catholic doctrine, proclaimed thus simply by the great Russian Khomiakoff: "The Church is one. Her unity follows of necessity from the unity of God; for the Church is not a multitude of persons in their separate individuality, but a unity of the grace of God, living in a multitude of rational creatures, submitting themselves willingly to grace."

II

What then are the differences with Rome which forbid the hope of outward reunion at present? We must observe them, not to blame Rome, nor to justify ourselves, but to seek the true path of peace.

They are twofold. First, the theological differences, which pivot upon the claim of infallibility and autocracy by the primatial See of the West. Our view there has been stated so often and so convincingly on grounds scriptural, historical, and theological, that I do not wish to cover the ground again.

But secondly, there is a difference of genius and general ideal between the two bodies less clearly grasped, upon which I beg leave to enlarge.

Here we must go to history. And remember first an historical fact which often escapes notice—simply that the Church of Rome a few years after the Reformation in England radically reformed herself; that is to say, *the whole Western Church submitted to a Reformation*, not only in England, although in point of time

England had a slight lead. Every Christian communion in existence, except perhaps the Eastern Church, is a "reformed" one. Few people realise how revolutionary the reform of Rome was. History forces us to admit that the new Church of Rome, after the Council of Trent, differed from pre-tridentine Catholicism in some respects less, but in others equally vital more, than the new Church of England. The continuity of neither was affected, but the atmosphere of both. Both were sudden, high-handed, partial developments out of the same thing. The Catholic Church bitterly needed reform—popes confessed it daily ; but reform on the Continent had to be done in haste, and in the face of the foe. It was likely then as in England to be unbalanced, and at the mercy of the immediate crisis. I deplore—as I think the fairest historians and thinkers have deplored—as much of the spirit of the Roman Reformation as of that of the English. How great was the change may be illustrated by one vivid fact. The chosen Catholic champion against Luther, besought and approved alike by Pope and the consensus of the Church on both sides of the Alps, was Erasmus. He represented Catholicism as at different times and in different ways Saints Athanasius, Augustine, Gregory VII, and Bernard have represented it, single-handed. Almost alone he kept a level head. That was roughly from 1516 to 1536. But after Trent (1545–1560) the new reformed Roman Church had suffered such a change that his works were put on the new Index, and post-tridentine Rome has never known what to think of this noble representative of the Catholicism from which she sprang. Our own Reformation ran different dangers from the influence of foreign Protestants and the later Puritans, who certainly ravaged our devotional tradition ; yet to-day there is little doubt which of the two, Rome or Canterbury, is nearer to the pre-tridentine theological spirit. We have no difficulties over Erasmus. There our three parties unite in one chorus of admiration. Anglo-Catholicism, nay, the Church of England as a whole, is as truly represented by him as Roman Catholicism is represented by Caraffa or Ignatius Loyola. That is to say, Anglo-Catholicism, though only after surviving desperate hazards, represents as genuine and continuous a form and tradition of Western Catholicism as does the Church of Rome.

We may not be happy over certain incidents in its development, but Rome is in the same case, and no more happy than we. And a second historical point is worth noting—that our reform followed in the main the line which German and French Catholicism—all Catholicism north of the Alps—wished to follow at Trent itself. For the programme of reform set out at the Council by the representatives of Germany and France included demands for the use of the vernacular in psalms and hymns and prayers and in the administration of the Sacraments, revision of the service books, Communion in both kinds, the allowance of marriage to priests, the enforcement of residence on ecclesiastics, drastic Curial reform

in the improvement of the Roman tribunals, reduction in the number of cardinals, reformation of the whole system of dispensations and exemptions, and limitation of the right of excommunication; and the French reasserted the decisive doctrine that a General Council is above the Pope.

They failed, not because the demands were wrong or un-Catholic, but because the management of the Council was in papal hands, and because, try as they might, the numerous Italian bishops, handsomely paid for the purpose, always outvoted them. But their witness remains to the Catholic reformation desired by the heart of northern Europe; and it was the Reformation which England had already put into practice.

The difference between the austere reforming Cardinal Caraffa (Paul IV) and Erasmus measures that between "Anglo" and Roman Catholicism to-day. It goes deeper than our differences of discipline, ceremonial, dogma, or even of government. Those are differences of fact bound to arise out of a difference of ideal. Erasmus looked for the peace of the Church to the gradual spread and deepening of education and knowledge, which, undertaken for love of Christ, should bring all men and all knowledge into all truth. He asked that the Catholic Church should be seriously truth-seeking, referring perpetually to the truest text of the Scriptures, to the great Fathers, and to the sound traditions of her undivided days, ever weighing, discriminating, and labouring in a fierce jealousy for the purest and highest truth; that she should therefore be *tolerant* to truth-seekers; should display a *tolerant* Catholicism, encouraging thought and free research, and thereby winning the confidence and trust of the world. He knew that this would be the work of centuries, and involve much confusion, but never faltered before it. It proved indeed, too ideal and patient a policy for those furious years; but time has justified it. Caraffa, dealing with the actual moment, and anxious at any cost to preserve ancient truth which seemed likely to perish, turned Catholicism into a single army, with a discipline of iron, ready and able to fight heterodoxy everywhere—a Catholicism essentially intolerant. The decrees of Trent finally fixed its doctrine—thank Heaven we are not bound to the Thirty-nine Articles as the Romans are to Trent. "The Council of Trent," wrote Acton, "impressed upon the Church the stamp of an intolerant age, and perpetuated by its decrees the spirit of an austere immorality." Inquisition and Index destroyed moderate and prophetic doctrine with the doubtful and false. The great new order of the Jesuits was a military company.

There have been many developments since then, both in Rome and England, but each has maintained its atmosphere and principle—two genuine Western traditions, one Cis-Alpine and one Trans-Alpine. Rome is still an army with banners, and boldly prefers a strict uniformity to freedom. That is her strength in these days of confusion, and her weakness in days when masses of new knowledge have to be related to ancient truths. From the Infallible

Church, if Rome be that, the world has received no help in a succession of desperate bewilderments; none in the co-ordinating of new knowledge to the one truth of God; none in the guidance of our social upheavals; none in the political relations of the State system. To quote Acton again: "Three centuries have so changed the world that the maxims with which the Church resisted the Reformation have become her weakness and her reproach, and that which arrested her decline now arrests her progress." Canterbury, bolder still, prefers freedom to think and seek truth above strict uniformity. That again is both our strength, which even Rome envies us, and our plain weakness, which nobody envies. One day, and perhaps not long hence, the two principles will discover that they are not opposed, but complementary. They influence one another for good even now, when outwardly at war; what will they not do when they discover the terms of their peace! Catholicism would then be both united and free, both authoritative and reasonable, both ancient and modern, both full and being filled; would persuade and embrace the world.

Now it were clearly impertinent for us to suggest to Rome the steps she might take towards a vision which, however splendid, she does not share. But we can examine ourselves to see what we can do. To me it seems that two large policies are marked out for Anglo-Catholicism.

The first policy is—to assert without shame our peculiar and noble vocation in Catholic Christendom, and to labour our utmost to realise it, not for our own sake, but for the glory of God and the help of the whole Catholic Church.

The strength of our Catholic witness lies just in the fact that our Catholicism is *free*, and embraced voluntarily by free intellects; held, not against new knowledge, new truth, but with it, because of it, inspired and mightily enriched by it. Catholicism is truth, and all truth is at home in Catholicism. But to make this plain and evident in an ever-changing world, *there must exist a Catholicism which is progressive.* The last hundred years have deluged the earth with new knowledge, and with new and un-dreamed of departments of knowledge. I say outright that it is not more important to carry the Gospel through the worlds of heathendom than it is to carry the Gospel through these new worlds of knowledge. That is the task for which English Catholicism alone has the necessary freedom.

Do not imagine that I think intellectual truth is everything. Thank God that the recovery of the Catholic life of devotion is proceeding so rapidly in our midst, and that we again see Catholic saintliness amongst us, and have known a Bishop King and a Father Stanton. Yet if we run over other great names of our recent history—Pusey, Maurice, Church, Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, Scott Holland, Moberly, Illingworth, Figgis—and recall all that these mighty doctors and thinkers have done for our Holy Faith, it is a shock to remember also that not one of them could have thought,

written, or existed in the Church of Rome. The fact illustrates our peculiar and great vocation. Rome had Newman, and it is a painful contrast to read the use that she made of his overwhelming gifts in that brilliant and terrible Life by Wilfrid Ward.

How Newman craved to be allowed to help the thinking minds of that bewildered Victorian age! Hear him speak after one of those episcopal hints which he likened to "the pat of a lion's paw."

"Don't you see that this, if nothing else, puts a great obex to my writing? This age of the Church is peculiar; in former times, primitive or medieval, there was not the extreme centralisation which is now in force. If a private theologian said anything free, another answered him, If the controversy grew, then it went to a bishop, a theological faculty, or to some foreign university. The Holy See was but the court of ultimate appeal. *Now*, if I as a private priest put anything into print, propaganda answers me at once. How can I fight with such a chain on my arm? It is like the Persians driven to fight under the lash! There was true private judgment in the primitive and medieval schools; there are no schools now, no private judgment (in the religious sense of the phrase), no freedom, that is, of opinion. There is no exercise of the intellect. No, the system goes on by the tradition of the intellect of former times." [1]

If, amid the numerous and eager departments of science and thought, theology itself is to be anything more than merely one department, it must rise and embrace all of them; must relate them to the one Holy Faith, and enclose them in it. This superb and supreme Catholic task the Church of England, for all her faults and disunities, is for ever trying to do. Indeed, much of her

[1] Ward's *Life of Newman*, I, 588. Cf. Ward himself:

"Newman could not forget that the writings of Tatian, of Justin, of Irenæus, and their successors had been an absolute necessity as a complement to the saintly lives of the early Christian confessors themselves, in order to preserve the hold of the Church on the educated classes, when Christianity was making its way, not only to the simple and illiterate, but to the learned and thoughtful. Rationalism could only be purged of its excesses by a wise exercise of the reason. And now a similar work to that of the early apologists and fathers was equally essential. Perhaps it was even more essential, for the prevailing inadequate treatment of theology and philosophy claiming in the name of orthodoxy to satisfy the intellect, presented some dangers which did not exist prior to all theological science. Again, modern research was bringing with it lines of thought, supported by weighty evidence, which called for the fullest and frankest treatment. Yet even so tentative an effort at historical frankness as his own article in the *Rambler* on "Consulting the Faithful" was suspected. How could Catholics in such circumstances take a place among the scientific historians of the day, and plead the cause of the Church with success? He recognised the principal cause of this state of things in the anti-Christian liberalism of the day, which drove so many of his co-religionists to be suspicious of all freedom of thought. Yet the fact, however explicable, remained both disastrous to the influence of the Church from one point of view, and an insuperable obstacle to his attempting the work for which his gifts especially fitted him . . . In his letters he wistfully looks back at the free debates of the mediæval schools, which had kept Catholic thought so fully alive to the problems of the day."—*Life of Newman*, I, 571.

disunity arises from the strain and stress of it. But who are we to complain if God has given us so hard and noble a task?

It is easier to speak about our *second line of policy*, because it deals with our weakness rather than our strength

Think of the Church of England as she actually is. A hundred years ago her Catholic life was faint and feeble. Now, thank God, it is almost miraculously stronger, but not everywhere. We speak with many voices, godly concord is little known amongst us. Some seem to set no store on her Catholic possessions, even hate and scorn them. Nay, more, there are many sins to be laid to her eagerly Catholic section—division and undiscipline and unwisdom, lack of big thought, even lack of love. To the best Roman minds, gazing from without, the Church of England is unintelligible—chaotic, contradictory, internecine. What a dangerous and impossible Church to contemplate reunion with!

We must realise, then, that the main obstacles to reunion with Rome, *which we can deal with*, and which we are meant to deal with, *lie within our own body*. It is of first importance *to unify our own communion, on a demonstrably Catholic basis, however simple and unelaborate*. Is it not just to say that lately we Catholics have been rushing ahead so fast on the way of outward likeness to Rome that, without rendering English Catholicity one whit more intelligible or attractive to the Romans, we have run a perilous risk of rendering it utterly unintelligible to other sections of our own communion? This is to defeat our dearest ends. Religious outlook will not be rushed; at quickest, it changes with changing generations. Only patience succeeds here; for patience is loving and persuades, and provokes no reaction. There must always be diversity within the Church of England. Our work is to render the diversity one undoubtedly *within Catholicism* instead of letting it decline to one between Protestant and Catholic.

The internal unity of the Church of England, which is real, is at present badly strained. It is surely our own main duty as Catholics to lessen the strain and assure the unity.

First, we must make the unity between the Catholic-minded in our own communion perfect and peaceful. We should allow no feeling between Western use, Sarum use, and no particular use at all. Our union of love and alliance should embrace without suspicion or mistrust all who live consciously by the Catholic essentials. Now may I add a special plea that the parish and university priests particularly trust each other, and mingle their experience and thought?

Secondly, we must do all we can to moderate our chronic disorder by our own reasonableness and patience, so that our loyalty and loving conduct are rendered infectious. It is just in this province that we ought to learn richly from our sister-communion. After all, her compact oneness is built on discipline and obedience. If Catholics fail here, who shall help?

Thirdly, let us teach unweariedly. Look back at the last seventy-

five years. The battle for the Blessed Sacrament has been almost won; a deep, devotional life centres round the weekly, nay, the daily altar. The battle of the Sacrament of Penance has been half won. "It is hard," wrote Fr. Hugh Benson, "for Catholics to believe it, but it is a fact that as an Anglican I had far longer hours in the confessional than I have ever had in the Catholic Church." There are other central doctrines, however, such as a living consciousness of the Communion of Saints, where our work has hardly begun. But if all this has been done in the days of our weakness, why should we lose hope in the day of our strength?

We are passing through immensely difficult days in Church as in State, with some fresh piece of disorder happening every week, and making it difficult at times to keep our temper. But the position of the convinced Catholics in the Church of England is so strong that if only we work together with quietness and confidence, we are bound to win the battle, not for ourselves or for our theories as a party, but the battle for Catholic thought and practice, certainly in our own communion, probably in the whole Protestant world, whose head and guide by the mercy of God seems to be this Catholic Church of ours, not because it is Protestant, but just because it is Catholic. And that is our contribution to unity with Rome—to establish here, in the United States, and in the Dominions, and perhaps more widely still, a true and deep Catholicism, deliberately chosen by a thinking and educated people as the most loving and reasonable form of Christ's religion; a *tolerant* Catholicism, ready and eager and fit to marry again in the Church of St. Peter, when Rome is convinced by the Holy Spirit that the authority of love and reason is not only possible, but true.

V

CHRISTIAN UNITY

B. THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH

By W. H. Frere

We are beginning to be alive to the position and importance of the Eastern Orthodox Church. It has long had to wait for its due recognition. This could not come until it awoke to itself, and threw off the nightmare of Mohammedan domination. Long ago this was accomplished in the case of Russia; and the Russian Church has long been an active and powerful body. It remains so even under a new persecution, and will emerge from it (please God!) all the stronger. Now the awakening is coming fast in other lands more recently set free. Greece and the Jugo-Slavs are leading the way; soon Asia Minor and Syria will follow suit. Our own opportunity is maturing rapidly. It is high time that we accustomed ourselves in Western Christendom to look eastward, "to the rock whence we were hewn."

Christianity is certainly meant as a revelation for the whole world, but it had its original setting in Eastern life. It began deeply penetrated with Semitic tradition; as it extended, it moved into Syria and Greek territory. When it crossed over to the West it was bound to undergo some modification in secondary matters, corresponding with the ancient and deep-seated difference between East and West. We who are bound up with Western tradition are slow to realise the fact, or the extent, of this modification. But it was bound to take place; and, indeed, history shows that it did.

In the first two centuries of its life Christianity was everywhere Greek, where it was not Semitic—even in Rome itself. The theology and literature of Rome were borrowed from the Greeks all through the second century. In Gaul they were Asiatic. Meanwhile, everywhere in the West Christianity ranked in the mind of the ordinary pagan as an Eastern cult.

It began to become native and Western first in Africa, as the third century opened. Its naturalisers were a band of African lawyers, of whom Tertullian was the dominant leader. Through the first half of that century the African was the only Latin Christendom.

Then in Rome an indigenous theology begins with Hippolytus, but it is Western in temper, though still Greek in speech. So it is only in the middle of the third century that in Rome, with Novatian, a theology begins that is Latin both in temper and language.

Thus Western theology began. It was late in the day, for Eastern theology already had its answer ready to many of the emerging theological problems. When it began, the African influence was strong. It penetrated Rome through Novatian, who was dominated by Tertullian; and this dominant influence was handed on in Africa through Cyprian to Augustine, increasing in force as it went. But it was out of touch with the East, and was one-sided in its development.

The Westernising process, thus begun, went on apace; in the hands of that great genius Augustine it attained a great vogue. As St. Augustine's authority more and more imposed itself on the thought of the West, the process continued to a dangerous extent.

But, indeed, the characteristic individuality of the Western trend is more convincingly shown in those Latin writers who had some acquaintance with the East than in those who were isolated from it. Among the great Latin Fathers of the fourth century St. Hilary was nurtured into greatness by his exile in the East; St. Jerome lived the bulk of his life there, and St. Ambrose learnt his theology from the Greeks. But in spite of everything, they all three remained distinctively Western in their outlook.

When we come to St. Leo he is innocent of any Eastern influence, and is, by nature and by training, in genius and in temper, wholly Western. Indeed, perhaps it was the foreign flavour of his dialect that made his great dogmatic pronouncement sound so convincing to Easterners, wearied and distracted with disputations in their own dialects.

Can we at all define the nature of the Westernising process? We can at any rate distinguish two forces which animate it. First, we must not forget how largely it began and continued in the hands of lawyers. One feature of it therefore may be expressed in the word "legalism." Tertullian formulated his thought in juridical phrases. In creating, as he largely did, the technical Latin terminology for Western theology he could not escape the legal trend of his own mind. A series of trained lawyers followed him and carried the tendency further, till the West became accustomed to formulating its theology in terms of law. On reaching Rome Latin theology again found itself in an atmosphere congenial to legal conceptions. There was nothing there to correct, but everything to encourage, this tendency.

It was an atmosphere also impregnated with conceptions of government. The Roman genius for order, as well as for law, could not fail to impress itself on its theology. Therefore, a second feature of the Westernising process may be expressed by the term "regimentation."

Under these influences dogma tends to harden into legal maxims, and the family discipline of the Church to be transformed into a system of governmental police. The Church is regarded as a corporation or chartered company; the clergy as its directors, the laity as its subjects. These are speedy results of the Western-

ising trend. But let us further follow out the development, meanwhile keeping our eyes upon the Eastern counterpart, and noting the differences that result.

While the East continues to look upon the Church as a living body, united in love, the West comes increasingly to look upon it as a system of polity. In the living body the members are essentially members of the body, but the systematic polity is divided into governors and governed. Thus clericalism becomes the bane of the Western world; while the East becomes the champion (often over-zealously) of lay power, especially as exercised on behalf of the laity by the Emperor.

The unity of the Church in the Eastern mind is an organic unity of freely co-operating cells, organs, and limbs; in the West it becomes a governmental unity under a terrestrial autocracy.

The contrast comes out in the doctrine of grace as well as in the doctrine of the Church. In the East the ministry of supernatural grace is yet a natural process, like seed time and harvest; God is ever bestowing His bounty on man, who seeks it dutifully and duly. In the West there is a different condition, one which is like the famine in Egypt. A Joseph is set up as food controller, he gathers all into a treasury, and doles it out to those who pay the price of submission.

A yet clearer and more familiar contrast has grown up in worship, and especially in regard to the Holy Eucharist. The type and temper of the early Christian liturgy is preserved in the East, but vanishes steadily in the West. Here the Church increasingly surrenders its primitive rites, and adopts for the sake of regimental uniformity and convenience the widely different type which the Papal court evolved in the fourth or fifth century.

Even prayer and penitence are differently viewed, as you will have realised if you have ever read Khomiakoff's indignant description of the Latin devotional process as it appeared to him. He describes it as a profit and loss account, in which the sins are entered on one side and merits on the other. If the penitent has a credit balance, he is discharged with a little stock of his own to play with. If there is a debit balance, it must be made up out of the treasury which the Church has at its disposal.

This description is satirical perhaps to the point of exaggeration.

Let us turn then to recognise that all the effects of Westernising are not to be blamed or scorned. If the process has its defects, it has also the great qualities with which those defects correspond. The Western view is often strong and decisive where the Eastern is weak and hesitating; each, in fact, has its own strong points and weaknesses.

The East certainly had the advantage in the earlier days of the Christological conflicts. There is nothing in the West to match the greatA lexandrians—Clement, Origen, Athanasius. Cyril—nor Basil and the Gregories in Asia, nor Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and their contemporaries from Syria.

The work of the great councils again is an Eastern achievement. While the conciliar system was being developed in Africa and the West mainly to meet questions of government, administration, and discipline, in the East the great councils keenly wrought out the faith, and settled the lasting lines of theology. This keenness was no flash in the pan ; for long after Latin theology became wholly imitative, Eastern theology continued vital and progressive down to the great achievement of St. John of Damascus in the eighth century.

But since then the East has become inert ; and it was a clear gain when Western theology woke up afresh, and set itself to work out more fully the theology of the Sacraments. This needed doing, even though, for lack of touch with the East, it had to be done one-sidedly.

It was a clear gain also when, gathering force from the Carlovingian revival onwards, it came to a splendid climax in the great scholastics. They made the terminology and conceptions of theology far clearer ; and for lack of this Eastern theology often seems comparatively amateurish.

Again, the East has not felt the thrill of that movement of reform that stirred all the Western world, Catholic and Protestant alike, in the sixteenth century. In consequence it may seem, from one point of view, more stable and its witness more trusty ; but it shows also a certain torpidity. It was spared indeed the shock and damage of the Reformation conflict, but only because it had already come into isolation through the Great Schism.

That schism was the disastrous result of the process which we are observing, a Westernising process, inevitable in some degree, but to a dangerous degree carried on by us here and resented by them there.

Happily it is not our task to estimate the proportion of blame, or to adjudicate between the two parties. Our task is a simpler one, viz. to urge that either half by itself is necessarily one-sided. We in the West cannot do without the East. We need just that corrective and supplement which it is able to supply. Equally little can the East do without the West. In so far as the two aspects of truth—the Occidental and the Oriental—differ, they need to be kept in touch and to be mutually corrective if a whole and really Catholic Christian outlook is to be preserved.

Our share in recovering the right relation of East to West is necessarily a small one, but, we believe, an important one. The point of contact of two parts of a machine may be itself very minute, but it has a great deal to do with the correct functioning and due co-operation of the whole. Similarly, it may be our privilege, please God, though small, to mediate between East and West.

One danger is that we may forfeit that vocation, if we become partisans, or fail to keep a balanced mind. And there is yet a further danger which we must admit to ourselves, viz. the danger

of losing the confidence of both East and West, because we do not ourselves hold fast what East and West hold in common. If we do that, we shall inevitably forfeit our vocation as mediators. Now I ask you candidly, Do we at present, as we should, hold fast ourselves to whatever East and West hold in common? I reply for myself, "We are learning to do so." But for many of us Anglo-Catholics there is a great deal still to be learnt; and it must be learnt not merely as part of our Western heritage, but also (and by some of us perhaps more easily) through growing in friendship with the Eastern Orthodox Church.

V

CHRISTIAN UNITY

C. OTHER CHRISTIAN BODIES

By G. H. Clayton

The conception of the unity of the Church which is implied in the High-Priestly prayer of our Lord is that of a unity in one body, the outward expression of an inner unity of spirit. Such a unity cannot be imposed from without by the action of ecclesiastical authority. It is evidential; that is to say, it leads to the recognition by the world of the divine mission of our Lord. And it is evidential because it springs from the inner unity of spirit. It is true that there are very many considerations which make a reunion of English-speaking Christians most highly desirable. There are the obvious inconveniences of disunion, waste of effort, competition, overlapping; there are the most serious difficulties which arise in the foreign mission field. But it is not primarily because of these things that we need to work and pray for reunion with Non-conformists. The primary reason is this: That we believe that they and we have received the Holy Spirit; that that Holy Spirit is one; that where there is one Spirit, there should be one Body; and that where the Body of Christ is rent and torn, there the work of the Spirit of Christ is hindered; the Spirit has not free course. In the conversion of the sinner, in the building up of the Christian life, the work of the Holy Spirit is manifest in Nonconformist bodies in this country. It is at least equally manifest in the mission field. And it is the task of Christian wisdom to search for a way in which, for the good of us all, and in accordance with the mind of our Lord expressed in His High-Priestly prayer, the unity of the spirit may find expression in the unity of the body. This must ultimately involve corporate reunion. It cannot rest content with a spirit of goodwill, though that is essential; and it certainly does not mean a blurring of distinctions and a general haziness of thought which finds expression in spasmodic acts of well-intentioned lawlessness.

I take it that we stand for the Catholic tradition. We look to our bishops to act as guardians of the Catholic tradition. Those of us who are priests offered ourselves for ordination in the confident expectation that they would do so. We have a right to demand that they should do so. But jealousy for the maintenance of the

Catholic tradition is not inconsistent with a willingness to apply what we have learnt from Catholic tradition to the circumstances in which we find ourselves. It has not been so in the history of the Church. The Catholic tradition is not servitude but freedom; within it we are conscious of "the glorious liberty of the children of God." There are principles which we believe to have divine authority which we may not alter; but there is such a thing as adaptation. Anyone who will think of St. Augustine's dealings with the Donatists will understand what I mean.

There are some who regard the development of the Christianity of the New Testament into the Catholic Church as it appears in history as a false development, "the secularising of Christianity."[1] As Catholics we believe that that was a necessary development, and that it was guided by the Holy Spirit of God. We are not concerned to deny the part that human self-will and human error have played, but we believe that God turns "the fierceness of man" to His praise, and that the Holy Spirit of God did really guide and protect His Church. It has been made clearer to us in recent years how great a passion those early Christians had for order.[2] If we believe in the inspiration of the Church, we cannot regard order as unimportant. We all desire to be in one body with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; but we believe that the historic Church has been His Body, and we cannot but regard the principles which have guided the Church from the earliest times of which we have knowledge as having His authority. But we are bound to be loyal to Him; and that fundamental loyalty prevents us from even contemplating the possibility of a reunion which is false to the underlying principles of Catholic order.

Does this mean that we have to acknowledge the impossibility of doing anything which may help to heal the wounds of Christendom? I do not think it does. For while some of our fellow-Christians do reject the whole conception of Catholic order, there are others who do not, but who have adopted principles of order which are in their belief consistent with the teaching of the New Testament. It is with them that we are concerned. As to the others, we are bound to observe the most scrupulous courtesy and charity; but there can be no question of corporate reunion with them. It is the business of our scholars to show them that they are wrong. It is the business of us all to win them by the fruits of our work and the holiness of our lives.

What of the others? A definite scheme of reunion has been put forward lately by Dr. Headlam,[3] of which anyone who speaks on this subject will have to take account. It is a scheme put forward and supported by a wealth of learning, and submitted to the criticism of the Church. Let me briefly indicate its nature.

[1] Harnack's *History of Dogma*.

[2] Cf. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, vol. i, chap. vi.

[3] *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, by A. C. Headlam. John Murray, 1920. Cf., esp., pp. 304–310.

First, we are to recognise the validity of the orders and the Sacraments of all who are ordained with the laying-on of hands and prayer, who baptise with water and the use of the words ordered by our Lord, who celebrate the Holy Communion as our Lord directed, and with the unfailing use of the words of institution.

Secondly, if two religious bodies have thus united in their corporate capacity, each should solemnly recognise the ministers of the other, and give them a commission under the new conditions. This should not be done with the laying-on of hands, for that has already been done. The sacramental part of the rite has been performed, but the ecclesiastical rules have not been fulfilled. The essential part of them is the ordination by a bishop. That being a rule of the Church, the Church can dispense with it, and without it can confer authority on those already ordained.

Thirdly, the rule of the Church in the future must in all cases be episcopal ordination. On the other hand, care must be taken that the full constitutional rights of presbyters, as of the laity, are guaranteed.

Fourthly, after reunion the celebration of the Sacraments must be carefully guarded and regulated.

Fifthly, within this unity there must be considerable variety of religious custom.

The doctrinal basis of unity Dr. Headlam takes to be the Nicene Creed.[1]

Dr. Headlam's proposals are worthy of the most serious attention. We can recognise in them a real regard for decency and order in Church life. We can see that after a generation the orders of the reunited Church would be valid and regular. We are grateful to him for his book; it clears the issue and presents us with a definite field for discussion. But his proposals as they stand we cannot accept. Perhaps it is possible to summarise our objections under the general statement that throughout his proposals he appears to come dangerously near to identifying the Church Catholic with the Church of England. Let me indicate some particular points on which it seems to me we are bound to differ.

First, the recognition of the validity of the orders of all who are ordained with the laying-on of hands and prayer implies definite and authoritative acceptance of the view that the Sacrament is complete, even if the minister of the Sacrament be not a bishop. It also involves, and I think Dr. Headlam means it to involve, the position that Apostolic succession does not now find its necessary authoritative expression in episcopal ordination. On this point Dr. Headlam's view seems to conflict with the view of the Roman and Greek communions. He admits that we are subject to an Œcumenical Council, if such could meet. But he contends that, as it cannot meet, we must take the initiative, subject to possible revision by such a council. But the question as to whether episcopacy is merely a matter of ecclesiastical

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 231–234.

regulation involves doctrinal issues; and the Church of England cannot afford on such a matter to ignore the judgment of East and West. And apart from this consideration, the view of Apostolic succession put forward by Dr. Headlam is not in our own communion universally accepted. To quote another writer, "the historic episcopate is the present embodiment of a government established by Christ to govern in His name; and acceptance of it becomes a consequence of belief in the Incarnation, and of belief that the Scriptures do not misrepresent the ministry of the Apostles. Our religion is from Heaven, not of men, and brought into being by the Incarnation. Its institutional expression embodies these facts."[1] That is in my view a correct statement, but I am not concerned to argue for it here. It is enough that it is widely held. And that fact makes it impossible that the formal recognition of non-episcopal ministry should meet with universal acceptance, or anything like universal acceptance. Dr. Headlam's arguments form a good-sized book. It would be absurd to attempt to meet them in a few sentences. But I say without fear of contradiction that they do not commend themselves to those who are generally recognised as the greatest authorities on the subject in our communion. I am glad to be allowed to say that Professor Turner cannot accept them as they stand. I cannot see that any act of formal recognition or formal refusal of recognition of each other's orders is necessary. Let us not look back, but forward. I cannot see why such a definite answer to a disputed question is necessary. If the commission to be given to ministers in the second stage of Dr. Headlam's scheme were to include the laying-on of episcopal hands, the question would be by this means left open. No Nonconformist would be called upon to deny his spiritual experience, or to deny the validity of his ministry. Speaking for myself, I have no shadow of doubt of the validity of my orders. Both on grounds of history and on grounds of experience I am convinced of their validity. But I would most willingly submit to conditional re-ordination if by that means I thought I could do anything towards healing the wounds of Christendom. Let the Nonconformist be willing to satisfy consciences which he may regard as over-scrupulous. It is a small price to pay for the healing or avoidance of schism. I shall have occasion to return to this subject.

There are certain principles that in all these efforts for reunion appear to be essential. First, we ask that there should be no official sanction of recognition of inter-communion and interchange of pulpits anterior to a corporate reunion. We recognise that it is very difficult for the bishops to prevent individual acts which are contrary to the law of the Church. Such acts are to be deprecated, but they do not commit the Church as a whole. But we do claim that when the Archbishop has definitely asked that individual clergymen should not take the law into their own hands

[1] *Belief and Practice*, W. Spens, p. 218. Longmans, 1915.

and act before the Church has made any authoritative pronouncement, an exception should not be made in the case of any individual on the ground of the high position which he occupies in the State. As the law of the Church of Englands stands, no one should be admitted to Communion who is not confirmed, or ready and anxious to be confirmed. It will hardly be contended that high position in the State supplies the place of Confirmation. And an act that implies that it does so is a lawless act, by whomsoever it is committed. Still, the Church is not committed to anything by such an act; and what we ask is that no official sanction should be given to such acts. Firstly, we ask this because such action makes the position which is really intolerable appear to be tolerable. It is a healing of the hurt of our people lightly, a crying of peace when there is no peace. It suggests to the public that we can heal the wounds of Christendom by ignoring their existence. Secondly, it is contrary to Church order, and the Church is the Body of Christ. It is conceivable that there may be cases where Church order should be ignored, in some time of crisis, when conditions are entirely exceptional. But after all, spasmodic acts of inter-communion and interchange of pulpits, though they may win the applause of those who are not attached to any Christian body, and gain popularity in a semi-Christian Press by a wholly unreal appearance of courage, yet accomplish practically nothing. They leave the position exactly what it was, having indulged certain sentimental emotions, and on the larger issue exacerbated controversy. I am glad to be able to quote Dr. Headlam: "We in the Church of England have, as other Churches have, certain principles of faith and order which we have received from our fathers. It may well be that these principles need some revision. But is it right suddenly, in reply to an emotional demand, to say 'We care for none of these things. We will throw them all over. We will act as if our principles, and our rules, and conditions did not matter'?" "The proposed corporate communion for those who are not united will do nothing but hinder reunion, for it will not be wholly sincere. And it is the same about preaching. The proposed interchange of pulpits is a breach of Church order. Interchange of pulpits among those who are not agreed on the fundamental principles of faith and order must be insincere; it should follow agreement, not prepare for it."

My second point is this: Could we not gain much if we could change the ground of the discussion? Instead of speaking of the validity of each other's orders, and passing judgment upon that, could we not agree upon the desirability of securing for all our orders undisputed validity? According to Dr. Headlam, certain orders are valid; but many disagree with him. In the interests of an ultimate reunion of Christendom all our orders should be put beyond dispute, so that that question cannot be raised again. If we all have reunion at heart there ought to be no insuperable difficulty about this. We have no doubt whatever about the

validity of our Anglican orders ; but no one can say they are undisputed, because they are in fact disputed. Some doubt the validity of Nonconformist orders ; some doubt the validity of Anglican orders. Very well ! Let us set them all beyond dispute. He who refuses is the enemy to reunion. He is standing in the way of the satisfying of consciences which perhaps he thinks overscrupulous. St. Paul thought all meats clean, but rather than that he should cause his brother to stumble he would eat no meat while the world remained. Cannot we all imitate him ? May it not be that a solution of all our difficulties would be found if reunion with the orthodox East went hand in hand with reunion with Nonconformist bodies at home, and if our clergy as well as Nonconformist ministers were prepared to submit to conditional reordination even if the East did not require it, that our orders may in the future nowhere be disputed ? May I repeat that I have no hesitation whatever in asserting the validity of Anglican orders ? We none of us have. But by this action we should make it clear that we are not asking Nonconformists to submit to anything which we are not prepared to submit to ourselves ; and we should be removing the question of the validity of orders—that question which has so often proved a bar to any schemes of reunion—out of the region of dispute.

Thirdly, if this, or anything like this, is done, the resultant Church of England must be free. At present it appears to be the view of some lawyers that all Englishmen are, as such, members of the national Church. But that is so patently not the fact, in view of the existence of organised bodies of people who have separated themselves from her, that no one takes them very seriously. If we get some kind of reunion with Nonconformists, this matter will become more important. We must have a clear understanding that the Church retains a power of exclusion. Such a power has always been characteristic of the Christian Church ; for I take it that the primary function of the Christian Church is to witness to the truth, as declared by our Lord, in the midst of a generation which may be evil and adulterous. Such a Church must have the unquestioned right to say that a man who will not accept her discipline, or submit himself to her interpretation of the teaching of our Lord, shall not share her privileges or be accounted one of her members. Here we shall have with us those Nonconformists with whom we should most desire to be reunited. This may involve disestablishment. I do not know. It may involve change in the method of appointing bishops. I do not know. In any case, the Church of England must be free. Otherwise she cannot bear her witness to the moral teaching of our Lord.

Lastly, may I say this ? To us Catholics reunion is not, as is often supposed, something in which we may reluctantly acquiesce, but an object of prayer and great desire. But it must be an expression of unity of spirit, and that unity of spirit must be an instructed unity. Let me quote Bacon's *Essays on Unity in*

Religion: "There be two false peaces or unities; the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance, for all colours will agree in the dark; the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image—they may cleave, but they will not incorporate." I cannot but wonder whether the desire for reunion is not often either the one or the other, whether it may not be necessary to do two things before we can make any real advance: first, to educate our own people in the principles for which we stand, and the conceptions that underlie the religion which we have and value; and secondly, to work towards a doctrinal synthesis in our own communion. Such a synthesis I believe to be perfectly possible, never more so than at this time.

It would be a sorry reunion which would create a new schism! What we pray for and long for is a real reunion. For that we are willing to sacrifice much. We are willing, are we not, to sacrifice anything in the nature of temporalities? We are not willing to sacrifice the religion by which we live. But if Non-conformists object to the establishment, as many say they do, then let it go! Let endowments go! Let everything go that belongs only to this earth—position, wealth, privilege—if any wound in Christ's Body may thereby be healed. We long for reunion with our fellow-Christians, and we know that they have much to give us. We do not stand—Heaven forbid!—for prelacy, episcopal palaces, or indeed episcopal autocracy. We have much to learn about the rights of presbyters. We have much to learn about the rights of individual congregations, about the functions of the laity. Nothing would gratify us more than the recognition of societies with a large degree of freedom within the Church. All this would be pure gain. We lament sincerely that we are made so often to appear as obstructionists. We have no desire to be so. We most fully and gladly recognise the experience and work of others; but we ask our brethren on their side to recognise that we too are justified in guarding, with a jealousy that seems to those who do not understand it unreasonable and narrow-minded, doctrines that are essential to our own religious lives and the usefulness of our ministry to others. It is in the interests of that ministry and in loyalty to our Master, whose Mind we believe to be expressed in the faith and order of the Catholic Church, that we take our stand.

V

CHRISTIAN UNITY

D. THE WITNESS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

By C. S. Gillett

I

The phrase "the English Church" implies some theory of nationality. It implies, at the least, a belief that we can think and speak of an "English" nation as a living entity—an organism to which terms borrowed from personal human relations may be applied without absurdity. And although it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to define "nationality" in its essence (and that especially for an England which long ago outgrew her island-nursery), yet, for my present purpose, it is enough to claim that, historically, men of an English stock *have* held to that intuitive belief—have seen and felt the nation as something with an inherent life of its own, as a living society endowed with specific qualities and called to a specific vocation. Moreover, that ineradicable conviction has been reflected in the particular type of national polity which has emerged from a long series of political experiments as distinctively "English" and their own. The life and ideals of England as a nation and Empire have taken a special shape and colour from the qualities peculiar to Englishmen as individual citizens.

I could not set my hand to any paper with such a title as this—indeed, I could find no meaning in that title—did I not believe that what is true, as a general principle, of Englishmen as united in an English commonwealth, is true of them also, in a manner not accurately but at least roughly parallel, as united in an English Church. Every genius, every type of inspiration, is of God, and is meant to be fostered and perfected for His service and the service of the whole human society. The English genius in its civic aspect has found (more completely, or less) its natural development and expression in an English type of polity.

My own contention is not merely that "national" Churches, like "national" States, have a real inherent life of their own, but that the English Church is the divinely appointed instrument through which the English genius in its *spiritual* aspect is to be nourished and matured, made visibly fruitful and effective for the service of the Church Catholic. I would maintain, in short, that the English Church has a special mission to carry out, and a

special witness to bear—a witness which can and ought to take a special form and character from the national qualities given by God Himself to the individuals who compose her membership.

That many Anglicans are vague as to the nature of her vocation does not alter the fact of its existence; and, as certain foreign diplomatists are now aware, the enemies of any English institution may easily and seriously misinterpret the expansive candour of its friends. Nevertheless, the time is fully come when all of us, who do believe in the life and mission of an English Church, must show some mental energy. We must think and pray; we must look keenly and steadily before and behind; we must deliberately work on lines definitely directed. We must make some clear picture of what, in outward form and function, we want that Church to be. We cannot for the moment, perhaps, lay down a detailed programme, but at least we must have some fixed and visible ideal. And do not let us suppose that in a world where Christ and His Church are to thousands a stumbling-block and to millions a mere foolishness, we can "muddle through" to its achievement.

My task, then, as I conceive it, is (*a*) to sketch (though it can be but lightly and rapidly, and by way of rough suggestion) the special type of structure and function which English Christians might hope that their Church shall represent; (*b*) to show, if it may be, that in a Church so pictured—and there only—the genius of their people in its religious expression can be fitly and wholesomely developed; and (*c*) to consider what kind of contribution to the Catholic body as a whole the spiritual qualities of Englishmen could make, when enabled within such a Church to find their proper exercise.

Briefly, then, I conceive the ideal to be that of a Church which, for the ordering of its visible machinery and the warrant of its ministry and teaching, looks to an authority which is essentially Catholic, traditional, and dogmatic, and is yet not the official infallibility of an individual autocrat; an authority which is "not an abstract doctrine deduced from the notion of unity, but . . . a synthesis of all the living parts of the Church"[1]; an authority based ultimately upon the common belief and experience of millions of the faithful, as guided and interpreted by Catholic theology and tradition, and as expressed in the consensus of organised local Churches within the Catholic Fellowship. Waiving for the moment the question of whether the Church called "Anglican" can, in all the countries of her habitation, become such a Church as this, I would maintain that, if it were so, she would in fact be reproducing in the religious sphere a type of institution and government analogous to that which in the civil sphere the English nation, at home and overseas, has wrought out with a most noble patience to be the least imperfect expression of her native genius. The greatness of England has been that in all her characteristic insti-

[1] Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, p. 165.

tutions there has been reflected an intuitive gift for communal activity, together with a passionate devotion to individual freedom. Those salient qualities in combination have coloured the very texture of her life. To ignore them is to miss the significance of a hundred movements and crises in her national history. It is to misunderstand her loathing for Prussianism no less than her instinct for order; her Trades Unions no less than her system of police; her mistrust of a caucus no less than her love for a King. In no way alien, then, from the mind and tradition of the English people is an ideal of their Church, not as a cog in a wheel of some relentless mechanism, nor yet as a boat set drifting rudderless upon an uncharted sea, but, like some guild or college within an English state, as a body freely functioning, in a loyal independence, within the Catholic Fellowship of Christendom.

I would not now attempt accurately to classify those social or personal qualities of the "typical" Englishman which it has been the task of his political system to discipline and mature. I doubt if any such nice enumeration be even possible. It is sufficient here to lay some passing stress upon one or two traits as being, by normal consent, sharply characteristic. All observers, upon a broad view, would see in him, I take it, a native interest in the *moral* rather than the intellectual aspect of his world—in character rather than ideas—in people rather than theories; and, as the fruit of it, a respect for personality and a genius for comradeship unique among the nations. They would see, too, an instinct for bringing his moral philosophy into common life—a rejection, for example, of "Art for Art's sake"—which at its best is the spring of a noble humanism, and at its worst of an unseasonable passion for the pulpit. Of freedom I have already spoken. To him it means personal independence as a sovran principle, not democracy as a reasoned theory. For indeed he detests theories, will barely consent to work but by rule of thumb, and is irritated, if not paralysed, by logical processes of thought. With all this, he has a sense of personal duty and social justice, of truth and fairness in thought and conduct, pre-eminently quick and subtle. He has (I may add finally) a streak of romantic idealism in his brain, a touch of obstinacy in his will, and a call to difficult adventure in his blood. These and other notably "national" qualities finding expression in a spiritual society analogous in shape and habit to the political society in which they are partially expressed already—in a spiritual society, that is, both national and Catholic, a Church neither gagged nor lawless—can (I would plead) and ought to bring into the treasury of the Universal Church spiritual riches infinitely worthy of her acceptance.

Nor, I may say in passing—for it is not within my province to discuss the nature of the ultimate human authority to which this Church of the future may be supposed to look—nor does it much disturb me that a host of critics, of whom the Dean of St. Paul's is by as much the ablest as he is the most interesting, would

dismiss this ideal as the day-dream of a few unlettered visionaries waiting pathetically for a "Council which can never meet."[1]

If it be not folly to pray for reunion, neither is it folly to pray for the session of a General Council in a reunited Church. And at least it is pertinent to remind him that the vision of a "dogmatic" Catholicism, neither formless nor Papalised, has fired great minds in many countries and in many generations—Erasmus no less than Casaubon, Creighton no less than Khomiakoff—and fired them as his own "blend of Christian Platonism and Christian Stoicism"[2] has yet to prove its power to do. That all Catholics have seen the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the ministerial succession as essential "notes" of the Church is of a far more vital importance than that some Catholics have assumed that these are not enough. It is intellectually pedantic to ignore that fact and all its tremendous implications.

II

But my main thesis is, of course, attacked by two sets of opponents. With the first, as represented fully by the Church of Rome and partially by certain Anglicans with a specifically "Roman" outlook, I am not mainly or immediately concerned. The upholders of a system in which a theory of Absolutism carried over from the political sphere is reproduced as Curialism in the ecclesiastical, must of necessity repudiate all such doctrines of Church or State as will underlie any conception of an Anglican Catholicism that I can find intelligible. To myself, "freedom" must mean a *real* freedom—not merely a few local liberties theoretically indefensible and officially winked at. But I own that to one who loves the Church of Rome as much as I do, or reveres as highly the shining graces which illuminate the lives of those within the Papal obedience—to me it is a most grateful relief that it is no part of my task to deal with the vices of their ecclesiastical theory, as distinct from the admirable virtues of their religious practice. This much, however, I would say—that whatever may be true for other races, the men of our *own* race, with only a few exceptions, will never develop freely and serviceably their own distinctive qualities under a system to which their whole habit of mind and action is traditionally and instinctively hostile; nor does the study of history suggest that the solution of the problem of Christian unity will lie in any "Uniate" system, however widely or however tactfully administered.

One thing more should be said, as bearing closely upon my main subject—my belief, that is, that Ultramontanism, even when softened or obscured by the many and varied pieties of individual practice, does actually affect for ill the spiritual and moral health of the characters which it has helped to mould. The Englishman is, in fact, conscious of, and distressed by, certain phenomena which a queer and rather unintelligent but fundamentally honest

[1] Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, p. 124. [2] Ibid., p. 29.

ethical habit constrains him to condemn. He cannot but recognise that the issue of a system which is in essence a tyrannous coercion of the individual conscience will be either the feebleness of popular superstition, or the apostasy of a defiant Modernism; that the dwellers in "a besieged city" are tempted to bring their religion into touch with the various activities of secular life, only as into an enemy's camp, when the city itself is threatened; that under the pressure of an imposed official infallibility episcopacy is almost destroyed, the voice of the faithful laity is almost silenced, and interest in spiritual things among people of culture is more and more confined to an ever-narrowing circle. He sees, in short, that moral corruption may be, and too often is, the fruit of a blind obedience; and that his historical or instinctive rejection of the claims of the modern Papacy is not lacking of a very practical corroboration.

More central to my main theme, however, is our quarrel with a body of opponents who attack upon another quarter; who would eagerly proclaim a "national" vocation, but would repudiate no less eagerly any "Catholic" conception of an Anglican Church. This body is by no means homogeneous. It includes the older and more orthodox Evangelicals, of whom no Englishman can ever dare to speak but with the deepest respect and admiration, but who (to judge from many of their published opinions) would seem to find the only true and typical expression of an "English" character in the theories and customs of some sixteenth-century foreigners. It includes, in particular, many men of considerable standing and influence in Church or State who are champions of a theory which is specially dangerous as being specially agreeable and easy of apprehension to inactive or uninstructed minds; the theory, that is, of a *national religion*, which shall be (at any given moment of the nation's life) the aggregate of the national qualities at their highest—the character of the Englishman in his best moments. Some who hold this theory are, occasionally at least, logical enough to dispense with the Church as a defined institution altogether. Their authority will be simply the national ethic at the highest contemporary level of its evolution. The obvious difficulties, however, in its detailed interpretation or application do usually constrain them to the constitution of an Oracle or "Living Voice"—of which the name is sometimes "Progress," which, when there is no goal defined, means exactly nothing; and sometimes "Science," which may mean anything you like.

There are others who believe not only in a "national religion" of this kind, but in a "national Church" which shall be the instrument of its activity and expression. As to the boundaries of such a Church its advocates would probably, at this moment, be in incomplete agreement. Some would exclude Jews. But, as a general principle, the Church is co-extensive with the nation—it *is*, in fact, the nation on its religious side; its official machinery being a very necessary and important department of the English

Civil Service. It would bear a witness of incalculable value—the witness of those notable virtues which have made England what (at any particular moment) England is. Christian so far as the national morality is Christianised, undenominational, excluding no layman from its altars and no minister from its pulpits, endowed, established, admirably tolerant and adaptable and receptive, it would be dear to the hearts and memories of every class of citizen, and commended by Lords Chancellor without misgiving.

Having stated that I repudiate utterly and unconditionally this or any even remotely similar ideal, I do not think it necessary to discuss exhaustively the grounds of that repudiation. It is as clearly the offspring of political Absolutism as is Ultramontanism itself, and it is based on a set of assumptions (historical, or philosophical or religious) which are grotesquely false. It assumes that a religion can become non-doctrinal and remain Christian. It assumes (and that with the spectacle of modern Prussia—not to say of modern England—actually before our eyes) that men will uphold the Christian standard of morality while they contemptuously reject the Christian creed. It makes a god of the untutored conscience, and identifies the Catholic faith with an insular code of morality; the Church herself becoming a piece of national machinery, her structure dependent upon political convenience, and her utterances interpreted by political lawyers.

The institution of this Erastian dream—this amphibious and repulsive monster—is open to destructive attack upon many grounds; but I would confine my quarrel with it mainly to the special ground selected for this paper: the ground of my conviction that the very qualities which I would call "English" (and which, when expressed in the body of a fellowship truly and historically Catholic, could bear a special and splendid kind of Christian witness) will be undeveloped, or over-developed, or disastrously perverted in any such institution as the upholders of an anti-Catholic religious nationalism would find delightful; my conviction, in short, that Catholicism is the very condition of their spiritual effectiveness. And indeed, while our Church is only dimly and partially cognisant of her Catholic heritage and responsibilities, the truth of that conviction is daily exemplified. That the virtues of the English people, as seen in their religion when it is undisciplined by Catholic authority, do suffer a very damaging distortion, is no merely speculative conjecture; it is a plain and patent fact.

Their ethical preoccupation, for example, can degenerate into a priggishness as perilous as any superstition, and into a conception of religion in which worship and adoration, as not "doing" themselves or others "any good," find only a precarious place. So, too, an interest in character, if divorced from the Catholic belief in a divine Incarnation and all that that implies, encourages a worship of human personality and a dependence on human influence which saps religion at its root. Or again, that strange gift for comradeship combined with liberty; our English soldiers

have shown, in a hundred battles, that, chastened and fortified by duty and discipline, it can produce something of supreme and immortal worth. But when "obedience" has dropped out of the vocabulary of religion, who does not know the poisonous fruits which that very gift can bear? Liberty become licence, spiritual independence a muddle of cliques and heresies, intellectual freedom a mere madness of "private interpretation."

Or again (to take one final instance out of many that remain), who that has lived in England and looked about him does not know to what spiritual disaster a taste for the romantic, coupled with a horror of logical thought, and set loose from the restraints of Catholic discipline, can bring a spiritually-minded people? Who has not seen that stream of pathetic figures hurrying from church to church, from sect to sect, from preacher to preacher, testing impressions, tasting sensations, "seeking after a sign"; their minds the prey of every plausible imposture, their religion no more than a series of emotional moments?

We do then utterly repudiate any kind of "national Church" which shall set the apotheosis of national virtue in the place of the worship of the Only God.

III

But when once that repudiation is affirmed, certain principles must be laid down. Our hope that a communion genuinely Anglo-Catholic can bear a special witness in the Christian world is a lively and reasonable hope only upon certain definite conditions.

First, that the religion which our Church sets forth in her teaching and worship and practice is not in itself anything but Catholic—Catholic in the only sense which would have been accepted by the common mind of Christendom as expressed, let us say, in any of the General Councils which are undisputed;

Secondly, that our Anglican bishops, as being normally the official exponents of the Church's mind, must take Catholic authority and tradition (thus understood) as the test and warrant of all their regulative and directive action. Some intelligible principles for the exercise of supervision and discipline, some reasonable uniformity in teaching as also in the modes of corporate worship, something, moreover, at least comparable with a "Congregation of Rites"—all these things seem to me to be of an essential necessity. It is useless for our bishops to rail at the contemporary "Romanisers" so long as they tolerate the contemporary chaos: so long as the Anglican communion has a divided mind, and exhibits no system to which we could ask a recognised body of Christians to attach themselves;

Thirdly, that just as, in this particular part of the Anglican Church, we can pay too high a price for establishment (assuming establishment to be desirable), so we can pay, but should refuse

to pay, too high a price for internal unity and comprehensiveness. I believe myself that some large measure of agreement is possible with all those within our own communion who, though differing from us in many things, do staunchly believe and teach the Catholic doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement.

I believe also that the younger generation among all parties—the men who look at the old controversies from a new angle—may learn to understand and respect one another more and more. But unless we are to ensure "unity" by persecution there will be *some* professing Churchmen of whom we must risk the loss. There may always come a point when any Church that is Catholic must boldly avow what some call "sectarianism," and we call "loyalty."

With some such principles generally recognised and accepted, it is difficult to exaggerate the extent to which the Anglican Church would gain in strength and effectiveness. For the first time for many centuries she could feel herself *free*—free with a freedom utterly incompatible with her present anarchy. For the first time she could be really generous and receptive, could work on steadily without yielding to panic, and make experiments without courting disaster.

Very specially she would be freed in her relation to the *Church of Rome*. With a clear apprehension of our own Catholic status, a clear standard of reference for our own beliefs and practices, we could escape from a situation almost unbearably absurd—a situation in which Anglicans can blink such obvious facts as that we owe almost everything in our ecclesiastical organisation, our theological system, and our liturgical forms, to the only Apostolic See in Europe—a See with which it is frankly anomalous that we should not be in communion. Do we not long for the day when loyalty to the English Church need no longer be identified with an antiquarian preoccupation with "Celtic Christianity," or even with the second year of King Edward VI? Do we not long for the day when we can get rid of a provincialism which has perhaps been inevitable, but is essentially pedantic, and admit quite freely that it is no condemnation of any Christian custom to say that it is based on the experience of a Church which has made the Faith natural and lovable to millions of simple and saintly people, which has an unrivalled practical knowledge of the human heart, and to whose unwavering fidelity and devotion the continued supremacy of the Mass in Western Christendom is directly due?

And this is but one of many matters in which the recognition of a clear and settled standard would rid us of timidity, and give us room to move. A friendly intercourse with *Nonconformists* need no longer carry implications which we repudiate. The *laity* could be more freely consulted, and *local varieties* of ritual and custom more freely authorised. Above all, we need no longer even seem to dread that liberty of *historical and critical research* which can only (as we unfeignedly believe) more fully and finally corroborate the faith of Catholic Churchmen. For in this matter we are, for the

moment, inevitably and most cruelly hampered. It is always easy and delightful to abuse the bishops; but it is only fair to say that we have owed to many of them a great debt of gratitude for standing, as it were, between Catholics and the attacks of uninstructed prejudice. Unity must be built upon obedience; and if once certain definite, fundamental truths of faith and morals were finally removed from the sphere of private judgment, those of them who are really in sympathy with us would feel far more sure of their ground, and the others could exercise their well-known gifts of tact and tolerance without risking disaster. As things are now, they risk it continually; and that it has not yet overwhelmed us is due to the fact—a fact which some of them are ungratefully slow to acknowledge—that the "extremists" whom they suppose to care only for exotic luxuries are ready, if it comes to the pinch, to die in the last ditch for the Nicene Creed.

For many generations our countrymen have been forced to think of religion in terms of controversy—to exhibit a loyalty inspired by their antipathies; but with even the minimum of Catholic orderliness and discipline secured, they need do so no longer—to the incalculable advantage of their Church. To have been forced continually to defend her own position has hampered all constructive effort, has produced timidity and confusion in her work at home and abroad, has sapped the loyalty of many of her most devoted children, and has perilously weakened her power of direct spiritual appeal. Once set her free from all this harassing and exhausting warfare, once let her native energies find space and liberty for their proper exercise, and at last men will see plainly what gift she has to bring into the spiritual treasure-house of God; at last they will ask us what the Church of England stands for, and not despair of some intelligible answer.

IV

What shall our answer be? What special functions do we believe that a Church fully national and fully Catholic can actually fulfil?

(1) First and foremost comes her special service to the *cause of reunion* itself. Every year it becomes more certain that the sins and repentances, the perilous stumblings and the breathless recoveries, all the miseries of imminent defeat and the joy of incredible victories, all the struggles, and persecutions, and hopes intolerably deferred through which the Church of England has desperately won her way, have been her training-ground, in the Providence of God, for the great work of Christian mediation. All over Christendom the hope of unity has fired men's hearts, every day it is growing stronger; and I am bold to say that it is the Anglo-Catholic community throughout the world which, more than any other human thing, has kept that hope alive.

Our Church, by her very nature and history, stands to the divided

parts of Christendom in a unique relation. There is the patient and changeless East; and although between ourselves and all that is Oriental there are the roots of an aboriginal distinction, yet we stand very near the children of Eastern orthodoxy as well in doctrine as in a certain vision of the Truth, a certain intellectual humility, a certain intuitive grasp of the loving-kindness of the Church and the priesthood of the people. They cannot parley with Rome—with us they are parleying already. There is Rome. To her we are linked by ties of spiritual and national kinship, the most sacred and indissoluble and historic; and, thanks to those great Oxford saints and scholars but for whose love and loyalty and shining courage we could not be gathered here to-day, our Church, under every assault of alien and apostate treachery, has kept safe that ground of Catholic faith and ministry on which alone we can hope that Rome will meet us.

Finally, there are those whose protesting zeal carried them outside the Catholic fellowship altogether. And we are the Church—perhaps the only Church in all the world—who can hope to bring them home. For we alone know the roots of their rebellion, the staunchness of their loyalty to Christ, the splendour of their moral virtues. We alone can tell Catholics how many golden threads of Catholic truth the men who love the name of Protestant have kept untarnished. We alone can tell them at what tragic cost for Christendom they would surrender hope of weaving them one day afresh into the spiritual fabric of a reunited Church.

(2) But even apart from the practical work of reconciliation, I would maintain that the Church of the English—both now and in that happy future when reunion is a joyful reality—will have power to bear a noble and needful witness; and that in several spheres, in several departments. Her witness, that is to say, will be of several kinds, though it is only one or two that I can briefly mention, and characteristic in each kind.

(*a*) First, what we may call her *intellectual* witness—her witness, that is, to the Faith as a reasonable philosophy of life, as a scheme of doctrine capable of intellectual apprehension and defence.

On the one hand, by her solemn and unreserved acceptance of all the statements of the Catholic creeds in their plain, historic meaning, she is empowered to reject from the roll of her members any man who holds them to be still debatable. He is breaking the explicit condition of his membership. On the other hand, she has no terror of modern learning, no fear to encourage the most industrious and penetrating research in the field of history, or psychology, or metaphysics, and indeed even in the field of theology itself. For there will always be the vital need of expounding and interpreting the doctrines that are permanently "of faith" in modes the most perfectly adapted possible to the vocabulary and mental habit of each successive generation. She is not afraid; for she knows that Catholic truth, given a fair and open field, will always conquer; and that when the medieval Catholics purchased

the security of a rigid censorship at the cost of their very real freedom of religious thought and speculation, they paid too high a price.

Moreover, the English Church guards very jealously her power to hold two truths together—her belief in a unity which transcends and will ultimately reconcile two apparent contradictories, a belief which lies at the very root of the religion formulated in the Athanasian Creed. Thus she will not undertake to give dogmatic answers to every speculative question; she will refuse to define as articles of faith matters which, by any Catholic test, fall within the region of permissible opinion. For in the realm of God's unfathomable mysteries she knows, as the Easterns know, the arrogant narrowness of human logic, and the clumsy incompetence of human words.

Now at this particular moment of history—a moment when a vast upheaval of familiar conventions in every department of human life has set men furiously thinking—a moment when, if all the omens do not grossly deceive us, any kind of spiritual interpretation of the universe, any kind of supernatural religion, is soon to pass through such a heat and fierceness of critical testing as we can hardly picture—at such a moment the Christian society has no task of a more instant urgency than to set forth afresh—set forth as eternally old and yet as eternally new—the great doctrine of human redemption through an Incarnate God. And I do not doubt that the thinkers and students of the part called "Anglican" in that society are, by every warrant of history and temperament and training, divinely appointed to fulfil it. They have accepted and do firmly hold the Faith of Catholic Christendom undistorted; and that that acceptance should be no mere subjection of the mind to the bidding of an infallible potentate, but the outcome of a complete and reasoned consensus of humbly seeking and freely thinking Christian people, makes the witness which it bears peculiarly and, as I think, incomparably cogent. That patient sobriety of judgment, that curiosity mixed with reverence, that tolerance which comes not from apathy, but from a humbling vision of the heights and depths of truth—all that is the dowry of one whom God designs for splendid service: the dowry of a great Defender of the Faith.

(*b*) And again, there is her witness *as an institution*—the witness borne by the shape and mode of her visible organisation and worship. It would be no damage to the liturgical life of the Church as a whole that there should be not merely an English flavour in our devotions, but an English freedom and variety in the pattern and decoration of our public services. With a rooted Catholic tradition to keep the Mass untouched and the main structure of our worship safe, our liberty need not be degraded into licence, nor our sense of dignity and reverence into any priggish or unnatural stiffness. We could consult the lay people without either servility or nervousness, and stand for a very serviceable assertion, that authority

is not simply the machinery of coercion, but is " the imperativeness of the collective conscience." [1]

(*c*) Thirdly, there is her *moral witness*. National states all over the world are becoming more and more secularised; and what is needed for the security of a Christian civilisation is not that any given state should forcibly impose some official morality upon all its citizens, but that the personal moral standard of every member of the Christian Church *within* that state should be enormously heightened. The divine society as a whole must be the salt which preserves the human society from corruption. And it is clear that the Church of each nation, with its own special vision of moral demands, can help infinitely to give power and completeness to that general moral witness. And not least, I would claim, our Anglican Church herself. It is true that any arrogance in this matter very ill becomes her. It is true that, while her real Catholicism is so imperfectly expressed, it is her besetting sin to set the pulpit above the altar, and to identify religion with a moral code. But it is true also that the deep respect for conscience in the English people, the determination at all costs to " make their religion their own," the moral gravity and austereness which (in the first Tractarians, for example) was the very spring of their unrivalled power—all that represents a kind of spiritual strength which the Catholic society as a whole dare never willingly forgo.

For it is far more than the mere moralising of a religious system, it is the expression of a religious principle—the principle of " Catholic humanism " in its highest sense; the principle that there is neither any part of life which religion should not penetrate nor any part of religion which can be fenced off from common life; the principle which inspired the great Catholics of the thirteenth century, and which the Anglican communion (thank God!) has never utterly let slip. I believe whole-heartedly that our own people, as Englishmen and Catholics, are divinely fitted to teach the world (in all its stir of revolt and reconstruction, with all its disastrous division of social and spiritual ideals) that the best saints will be the best citizens; that the whole of our Faith, the whole mission of the Church, the whole meaning of the Sacraments, is a repudiation of any such dividing; for that they are the visible signs that God's power and purpose run right through His whole creation—through the world of nature, and of trade, and of politics, and of all human relationships, right up to the Saints and Angels and the very life of Heaven.

And as in the world of science and industry, so too in the world of art. It is no accident that the language of our English Bible has shaped and coloured all our literature; that all that is noblest in our English prose is touched infallibly by the measured beauty of its cadences. It is a sign of our vocation; a sign that ours is the service to teach the world afresh that all the dreams and

[1] Tyrrell.

labours of every craftsman, all his chivalrous and enduring courage, all the skill and passion of his pursuit, may be dedicated wholly and joyfully to the glory and majesty of God. If it be true that the world of artists no less than the world of labour is drifting from the Faith, drifting from Him in whom alone is the root and consummation of all justice and all beauty, then I believe that of all the Churches in the world it is the Church of Englishmen that can hope most confidently to bring them back.

(*d*) Above all, there is her *spiritual witness.* It is implied by all that I have said already that an Anglican Church will manifest a special blend and balance of the mystical and the institutional elements in the religious life. She is fitted very specially to show that a belief in the essential and effective reality of the priesthood and the Sacraments in the Catholic body is no denial of the fact of personal responsibility, of the vital necessity of a co-operating faith. That I am sure is true ; but there is, I think, a still wider kind of spiritual witness which she is specially called to give—the witness of the mission field, of the spirit and work of an evangelist throughout the world. In this she has too often given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. In this, more than in any other of her spiritual tasks, she has been crippled by the indefiniteness and indiscipline of her life and witness in England. In all that I have said it has been impossible not to use very frequently the word " English," and thereby to risk the charge that I have confined my conception of the English Church within certain narrow geographical limits. To have done that would indeed be to have fallen into that very error of an Erastian provincialism which I set myself most explicitly to disavow. By the very facts of our history as an Empire, the words " English " and " Anglican " cannot properly be interchangeable. Establishment, for example, is at this moment not a " national " thing in any sense of the term, but a local and limited thing—English, but not Anglican. And when we think of Englishmen as the world's travellers and colonists, of their native interest in alien characters and customs, their genius for showing sympathy and winning trust ; when, in short, we remember that the most notable endowment of our nation is the power to be *supra-national,* then we must surely feel that to the Church of the English—the Church even now strongly planted and strongly alive in a score of countries oversea—there has been given by God a weapon specially fitted for His warfare, most magically potent for the winning of the world to Christ. We must never cease to pray that she may wield it worthily.

And may it not be that she is summoned to a still higher service ? Is it for nothing that the English race finds its deepest interest and its most certain inspiration neither in the laws of a code nor in the structure of an institution, but in the great mystery of *personality* itself ? May we not dream that their national Church shall so set forth their Catholic Faith that a world which is slow to put its trust in an infallible Society or an infallible Book, may

find through her teaching the living Person of an Incarnate Christ, and by her witness be brought to worship Him ?

V

And I would end by asserting, with all possible vigour of conviction, that the belief which is inspiring our hopes and prayers to-day—our belief in the divine vocation of an Anglo-Catholic Church—becomes more settled and more certain every year. If you would know the English love of pomp and colour and ordered ritual, you need only go and gaze upon the opening of an English Parliament ! If you would know the English contentment with a law which is authoritative and yet not arbitrary—his genius for an obedience far remote from servility—you need only (in some tangle of our London traffic) listen to an English bus-conductor, or watch an English policeman ! And our ideal of an English " liberal Catholicism "—a Catholicism which is neither anarchical nor Ultramontane—is not merely an ideal infinitely congenial to the English mind, it is a reality actually in being and working at this very moment amongst thousands of English people. We are no longer in the region of merely visionary conjecture. The Church we long for is not here yet ; but there is sounding more and more clearly in our ears the promise of her speedy coming. It is not *we* who are wandering foolishly among the shadows of the past ; it is the men who twit us with our disloyalty or our delusions. Still murmuring of " No Creeds " or " No Miracles " or " No Popery," still dreaming their gentle mid-Victorian dreams, they have lost all sight of reality and the march of time in a cloud of catchwords. The very Faith we are fighting for is being taught by thousands of our parish priests and lived by thousands of their faithful people. To say that the English nation has no mind for a Church in which they find the Catholic status and setting of the Mass, the Catholic ministry of Penance, an eager honouring of Jesus in the Holy Sacrament, an expressed devotion to the Mother of God and all His Saints : to say that they have no mind for the atmosphere of sacramental life and the thrilling sense of corporate devotion—to say all this is not a foolish extravagance, it is a plain and obvious falsehood. And indeed, in any case, this parrot-cry of " Not English "—this dilapidated Guy Fawkes bogy—leaves me quite unmoved. It is likely (perhaps it is certain) that there will always be at the headquarters of the militant Church on earth *some kind* of Papacy, and for us some Primacy which would normally and naturally be Roman, though not necessarily Italian ; and I see no reason why that prospect should be distasteful to me or any Catholic. But I become Protestant instantly—Protestant without any apology or limitation—if my Pope is to call himself Podsnap.

All over the country there is the cry to-day for the Catholic Faith and the Catholic system ; not for little bits of it, not for a few fragments tacked on experimentally to some new religion,

but for the thing itself—the whole thing and nothing but the thing. And those who are crying for it are not a handful of excited clergymen or neurotic weaklings clamouring for luxuries; they are English people clamouring for the faith of their forefathers; they are Catholic laymen clamouring for Catholic privileges; they are men and women clamouring for the only religion that can satisfy all human hearts. We must be humble always, and patient, no doubt, for many years; but it were faithless to doubt the truth of our witness or the reality of our vocation—to doubt for a moment the splendid destiny of the English Church. She is already saving souls; she is already training saints; she is already beginning, at least, to bring her immeasurable riches into the household and treasury of God.

VI

CORPORATE RELIGION

A. THE SACRIFICE OF THE ALTAR

By C. J. Smith[1]

I

It is a fact which, I suppose, no one will question, that from the earliest times the Church has regarded the Holy Eucharist as being *in some sense* at any rate a sacrifice. Evidence that this was the case is found in the earliest Christian writings outside the limits of the New Testament Canon. Even while these early writers are careful to repudiate sacrifices of a material or carnal kind, such as the sacrifices of Jews and pagans, they do not hesitate to apply sacrificial language to Christian life and worship, and in particular to the Holy Eucharist itself. Thus St. Clement of Rome (*c.* A.D. 95) speaks of the ministers of the Church, the Presbyter-Bishops, as "those who have offered the gifts," and elsewhere regards the orderly "offerings and ministrations" of Christians, apparently with special reference to the Eucharist, as in some sense parallel to the ordered sacrificial worship of the Jews.[2] In the *Teaching of the Apostles* the Eucharist is twice spoken of as a "sacrifice," Christians being exhorted to prepare themselves by confession of sins, "that your sacrifice may be pure"[3]; while St. Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 115) refers to the place in which the service is held as the "place of sacrifice."[4] St. Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150), besides calling the Eucharist a "sacrifice," in one passage treats the Jewish oblation of fine flour on behalf of those cleansed from leprosy as "a type of the bread of the Eucharist which our Lord gave us to offer for a memorial of the passion, which He endured on behalf of those who are being cleansed from sin."[5] St. Irenæus (*c.* A.D. 180) maintains that there are sacrifices in the Church as well as among the Jews, only of a different kind and offered in a different spirit: in particular, there is in the Eucharist "the new oblation of the new covenant, which the Church receiving from the Apostles offers to God throughout the whole world."[6] It may be added that all three of the authorities last-named see in the Eucharist

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge his great indebtedness to the works of Dr. Darwell Stone.

[2] Clement of Rome, §§ 44, 40 & 41.

[3] *Didache*, XIV. The date is late in the first or early in the second century.

[4] *Eph.*, 5; *Mag.*, 7; *Trall.*, 7; *Philad.*, 4.

[5] *Dial.*, 41.

[6] IV. xviii. 1; IV. xvii. 5.

a fulfilment of the prophecy of Malachi i. 11, "In every place incense is offered unto my name, and"—as they read it—"a pure sacrifice." [1]

When we pass to the third century the sacrificial language becomes more frequent and more definite. Tertullian, early in the century, uses such words as "sacrifice," "priest" and "altar" in a Christian sense, and further refers to the Christian custom of offering oblations on behalf of the departed on the anniversaries of their deaths [2]; in the writings of St. Cyprian, who immediately follows him, "sacrifice" is the ordinary designation of the Eucharist, and the sacrificial idea reaches, as we shall see, a remarkable clearness of expression.

Thus from the earliest times the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist was everywhere recognized and accepted throughout the whole Church; while from the time of St. Cyprian onwards the allusions to it become so frequent, both in the writings of the Fathers and in the ancient Liturgies, as to make further quotations unnecessary. It was not indeed made the subject of discussion or detailed explanation; rather it was everywhere taken for granted; and this continued to be so throughout the history of the undivided Church, and indeed until the Reformation period.

We have then in this sacrificial view of the Eucharist an unquestioned part of the tradition of the universal Church, and the beginnings of it at least can be traced back, as we have seen, to the sub-Apostolic age. But we may go even further, and say that these beginnings can be traced back even to the pages of the New Testament itself. However we are to interpret the words "We have an altar" in Heb. xiii. 10, it is scarcely possible to exclude from the passage all thought of the Eucharist, and of the Eucharist as a feast upon a sacrifice. And when St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. compares the Christian's Communion with the Jewish sacrificial feast, and contrasts the "table of the Lord" with the "table of devils"—i.e. the heathen altars—it is plain that to him the Eucharist has in the Christian religion a position closely corresponding to that of the sacrifices in the religions of Jews and heathens.

Now the fact that from the first the Eucharist had in the Church certain sacrificial associations, which subsequently by a process of orderly development found expression in the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, is one which calls for explanation: and we shall hardly be wrong if we find that explanation, or at least the chief part of it, in the accounts of the actual institution of the Eucharist by our Lord. We do not for a moment insist on the sacrificial interpretation of the disputed words "Do" and "Remembrance" in the words of institution; but we do maintain that the whole setting of the first Eucharist was in the highest degree sacrificial. Whether the Last Supper was an actual Passover meal or an anticipation of it on the preceding evening, the thought

[1] *Did.*, XIV. 3; Justin, *Dial.*, 41, 117; *Iren.*, IV. xvii. 5, 6.
[2] *De Cor.*, 3; *De Exhort. Cast.*, 11; *De Monog.*, 10.

of the Passover and its sacrifice must have been in the minds of all present; moreover the Supper took place on the eve of that great act of sacrifice whereby Christ became "our Passover, sacrificed for us." Spoken on such an occasion, the words of Christ, "My Body which is for you," "My Blood poured out for you," could hardly fail to have a sacrificial significance to those who heard them; while the phrase "My Blood of the *new* covenant" inevitably suggests comparison with the blood wherewith the *old* covenant was inaugurated, which was the blood of sacrifice.[1]

Our conclusion is that our Lord Himself, by His words and actions at the Last Supper, left, and purposed to leave, in the minds of His followers, a deep impression of the sacrificial associations of the rite, which should afterwards find expression according to His will in the Spirit-guided Church. It is true that we do not find anything that can be called a doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice definitely stated in the pages of the New Testament, or indeed for long afterwards. But the case is precisely similar with all the great doctrines of the Christian faith. We do not find, for example, in the New Testament formulated statements of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity or of the Incarnation. The essential truth of these doctrines was implanted in the mind of the Church and implicitly believed from the first, but only by a gradual process did it find full expression in dogmatic statements. In like manner, we may believe, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in particular, as it came to be held throughout the whole Church, was, under God, the outcome of the fuller apprehension and clearer expression of truths impressed upon the mind of the Church by our Lord Himself.

II

So far we have only been concerned with the fact that from the earliest times the Church has regarded the Holy Eucharist as *in some sense* a sacrifice. We must now pass to a more difficult division of our subject and ask "In *what* sense?"—in other words, we must try to consider the nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as it has been held and taught in the Church.

It is frequently suggested, and probably with truth, that the writers of the second century who use sacrificial language in connection with the Eucharist, are alluding, not to the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the later sense of the term, but rather "to the thanksgivings, prayers, and gifts of bread and wine which were offered in grateful acknowledgment of the bounty of God." From the days of the Apostles Christians had learned to regard their whole life, with its prayers and thanksgivings and self-dedication and service, as an offering of "spiritual sacrifices," and such offering naturally found its highest point at the Eucharist: St. Justin Martyr

[1] Exod. xxiv. 5–8.

is apparently alluding to "prayers and thanksgivings" in one passage in which he speaks of "sacrifices" offered "*at* the Eucharist."[1] St. Irenæus certainly speaks of the bread and wine as a thankoffering to God of the first-fruits of His creation.[2] Even Tertullian's "oblations for the departed" may be the oblations of bread and wine.

Nevertheless deeper thoughts are never far away: with Justin Martyr "the Bread of the Eucharist" is offered "for a memorial of the Passion"; with Irenæus it was by taking bread and saying, "This is My Body," and taking the cup and declaring it to be His Blood, that the Lord "taught the new oblation of the new covenant"; and with Tertullian the oblations are not merely thank-offerings for the gifts of nature, but are definitely coupled with prayers for the "repose" and "refreshment" of departed souls. Nor must it be forgotten that with all three of these Fathers the bread and wine offered in the Eucharist become, in a true sense, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. So the way is already prepared for that clearer expression of the sacrificial idea which is found in St. Cyprian (*c.* A.D. 250).

With St. Cyprian the Eucharistic Sacrifice is definitely the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ: Christ at the Last Supper "offered to God the Father . . . bread and wine, that is, His Body and Blood": the priest who closely follows what Christ did on that occasion "acts in Christ's stead" and "offers a true and full sacrifice to God the Father": it is an offering, not merely of the cup, but of "the Blood of Christ"; and it is closely associated with the sacrifice of the Cross, for "the Passion is the Lord's sacrifice which we offer."[3]

Thus, by the middle of the third century at latest the fundamental truth of the Eucharistic Sacrifice had been grasped. The thought of the oblations of bread and wine as a thank-offering of first-fruits was not forgotten or left behind by the Church, but the offering is seen to be something much more than that—it is the offering of bread and wine, which are in a mystery the Body and Blood of Christ.

We have now reached a point at which it becomes impossible to follow the evidence in detail. The sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist was, as has been said, universally recognized and accepted, and while there are no discussions or formulated statements of the nature of the sacrifice, the incidental allusions to it are numerous and varied. We must therefore content ourselves with an attempt to summarize the chief ideas with regard to it which were prevalent in the undivided Church.

First then we may say that underlying all that is thought and said about the Eucharistic Sacrifice is the belief that the bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ: the offering is the offering

[1] *Dial.*, 117.
[2] IV. xvii. 5; xviii. 1, 4.
[3] *Ep.*, lxiii.

of the Body of Christ, and therefore of Christ Himself: Christ Himself "both offers and is offered," is both Priest and Victim.

Secondly, the offering of Christ in the Eucharist is closely connected with the sacrifice of Calvary: the Eucharist is a memorial before God of the passion and death of Christ; and it is so because the Christ who is offered in it is the Christ who was slain in sacrifice upon the cross; "we offer Christ who was sacrificed for our sins," [1] "we sacrifice that true Lamb which was sacrificed." [2] In the Eucharist the sacrifice of Calvary is in a very real way brought before God.

Thirdly, the sacrifice is not only connected with the passion and death of Christ, but also with His resurrection and ascension; and again it is so because the Christ who is offered in it is the Christ who not only died in sacrifice, but who also rose and ascended and presents His sacrifice in heaven. So in the Eucharist not only is the sacrifice of Calvary brought before God, but also the resurrection of the Lord, His ascended life and His heavenly intercession; thus the sacrifice of the altar is seen to be united with the sacrifice in heaven: He who is Priest and Victim in heaven, is Priest and Victim of the sacrifice on earth; conversely, the sacrifice of the earthly altar is thought of as being lifted up into union with the heavenly sacrifice, and presented as at a heavenly altar by the Lord Himself. In the words of St. Gregory the Great, "In the very hour of the sacrifice, . . . in that mystery of Jesus Christ, . . . things earthly are united with things heavenly, the things that are seen and those which are unseen become one." [3]

Although there are not wanting indications that the sacrifice of the altar is constituted by the act of consecration, whereby the bread and wine are made to be the Body and Blood of Christ,[4] it is also clear that the act of sacrifice is regarded as finding its consummation in communion. It is indeed recognized that the sacrifice may be effectual on behalf of the absent, both living and departed, "that the greatest benefit will accrue to the souls on whose behalf intercession is offered while the holy and most awful sacrifice is displayed" [5]; yet it is by communion that the Christian in the fullest sense "partakes of the sacrifice," for by communion he partakes of the life of the sacrificed Victim, is brought into union with Christ, and through Him into that union with God which is the true end of sacrifice. Emphasis is also laid on the Christian's own contribution to the sacrifice, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of a penitent heart, the sacrifice of living self-dedication, which he must offer in union with the Eucharist: "for then will it be truly the sacrifice for us to God, when we have made ourselves a sacrifice." [6]

[1] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, xxiii. 10.
[2] Athanasius, *Festal Letters*, i. 9. [3] *Dial.*, iv. 58.
[4] Cf. (e.g.) the reference to the prayer of consecration as the sword whereby Christ is symbolically slain in Gregory Naz., *Ep.*, clxxi.
[5] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, xxiii. 9.
[6] Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, iv. 59.

It may be noted that the language of "propitiation" was applied to the Eucharist from the time of St. Cyprian's contemporary, Origen, who speaks of the Eucharistic commemoration as "that which makes God propitious to men"[1]; also that words are used by some writers which suggest a "renewal" of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist. It is clear, however, that nothing more is implied during this period than that the Eucharist is the renewed presentation of the one sacrifice of Calvary and the means whereby the propitiatory merits of that one sacrifice are applied to men.

Mention must also be made of a subsidiary view of the sacrifice of the altar, which finds expression from the ninth century onwards, whereby the outward ceremonies of the Liturgy, mystically interpreted, are regarded as a symbolical representation of our Lord's life and death and resurrection and ascension.

The teaching thus summarized as representing the beliefs of the undivided Church has continued to be held in Eastern Christendom without important modification to the present day. That the Eucharist is "a real and propitiatory sacrifice" is, and always has been, accepted without question. It is the offering of the Body of Christ: in it Christ Himself offers and is offered: the sacrifice of the altar is one with the sacrifice of Calvary, and also—though this is a point which in later times is seldom expressed—with our Lord's offering of Himself in His sacrificed humanity in heaven: it avails by way of intercession both for the living and the dead. The connection of the act of sacrifice with the prayer of consecration is more definitely expressed; "when this" (i.e. the prayer of consecration) "has been said . . . the sacrifice has been perfected, and the great sacrifice and victim, which was slain for the sake of the world, is seen to lie on the holy table"[2]; "the offering . . . consecrated by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is perfected by the presence of that which is signified, namely, the Body and Blood of Christ."[3] But apart from this there is no attempt at closer definition of the nature of the sacrifice or of the precise method of its operation. The importance of communion as the means of closest union with Christ and fullest participation in the benefit of the sacrifice is fully recognized. The view of the ceremonies of the Liturgy as a mystical presentation of the stages of our Lord's incarnate life is still maintained. A statement of the doctrine of the Russian Church by a theologian of high repute[4] in the middle of the last century, contains these words: "The sacrifice offered to God in the Eucharist is in its nature exactly the same as that of the Cross, for to-day we still offer on the altars of the Church the same Lamb of God who offered Himself of old on the cross for the sins of the world. . . . To-day also this mysterious oblation

[1] *Hom. in Levit.*, xiii. 3.
[2] Cabasilas (fourteenth century), *Explanation of the Liturgy*, xxvii.
[3] Synod of Jerusalem (1672), *c.* 15. Hardouin, *Concilia*, xi. 249.
[4] Bishop Makarios.

is invisibly accomplished by the same eternal High Priest who offered Himself on the cross."

III

When we turn from Eastern to Western Christendom, we find that in the West also there was for long no marked development in the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Indeed until the thirteenth century the doctrine received but little attention, the minds of theologians being fully occupied with discussions of the mode of our Lord's presence in the Sacrament, and the elaboration of the theory of Transubstantiation. When the sacrifice is referred to, it is spoken of in terms very similar to those which were used in the earlier period. It is the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ: it is not a new sacrifice, for Christ does not again suffer pain or death; but the one sacrifice of the Cross is repeatedly represented and commemorated. "On the cross Christ died once, and there was He offered in Himself; in the sacrament He is offered daily, because in the sacrament there is a commemoration of that which was done once." [1] The thought of the ceremonies of the Mass as a mystical representation of our Lord's life and death and resurrection is frequently expressed, and in particular the double consecration of bread and wine, as setting forth the Body and Blood of Christ in separation, comes to be regarded as a mystical representation of the Passion. The connection of the sacrifice of the altar with our Lord's heavenly offering, though mentioned by some writers, tends more and more to be left out of sight.

The same traditional view of the nature of the sacrifice is carried on by St. Thomas Aquinas (1226–1274). According to the *Summa* the celebration of the Eucharist is a sacrifice, partly because it is "a certain representative image of the Passion of Christ which is the true sacrifice of Him," partly because "by means of the sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's Passion." [2] Nevertheless the teaching of St. Thomas on certain points connected with the sacrifice contained suggestions which were to have marked influence on later thought. Thus, speaking of sacrifice in general, he adopted a new definition whereby sacrifice is made to involve the production of some kind of change in the object offered, "as that animals were slain and burned, or that bread is broken and eaten and blessed," [3] in other words, the destruction or real transformation of the victim; a theory which, when applied to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, was likely to lead to the thought of a new sacrifice in each Mass distinct from that of Calvary. Again, in defending the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity, which was then becoming customary, he maintains that "the priest offers and receives in the person of all," and that "the perfection of this sacrament is not in the use of the faithful, but in the consecration

[1] Peter Lombard (*c.* 1160), IV. xii. 7.
[2] III. lxxxiii. 1.
[3] II*a*, II*ae*, lxxxv. 3 *ad* 3.

of the matter "[1]; such phrases, however capable of interpretation, have a clear tendency to emphasize the importance of the priest's part in the sacrifice, and to encourage a separation in thought between sacrifice and communion, the more so as at this time communions were normally made but once a year. Further, certain teaching of St. Thomas as to the mode of operation of the sacrifice was subsequently exaggerated so as to lend support to mechanical views of its efficacy.

Thus the teaching of St. Thomas fell in with, and perhaps was in some measure indirectly responsible for the tendencies of popular religion in the later Middle Ages. There is little doubt that in the period immediately preceding the Reformation, the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, at least in the popular conception of it, had moved far from the beliefs of the undivided Church.[2] It was frequently supposed that in each Mass there was an act of sacrifice distinct from the sacrifice of the Cross, having a certain additional propitiatory value of its own: from this there followed a natural tendency to multiply Masses, especially for the dead, and to attach to these "sacrifices of Masses," as Article XXXI calls them, a numerical or quantitative value, "so many Masses said and paid for, and so many years of punishment remitted." There is also evidence of a prevalent belief that the benefits of the sacrifice were applied mechanically to those for whom it was offered, without reference to their spiritual condition. Last we must refer to that extreme development of opinion whereby it was held that the sacrifice of the Cross was offered for original sin, while the sacrifice of the altar was an offering for actual sins, both venial and deadly. This opinion was expressed in certain sermons which were falsely attributed both to St. Thomas and to his teacher, Albertus Magnus. It is certain that neither of them ever held it, and it was consistently repudiated by Roman theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless the opinion was held, and, probably through its association with two great names, gained considerable currency both in England and on the Continent.

Before referring further to these later forms of belief and to the reaction which they helped to provoke, it will be convenient to trace the subsequent teaching of the Church of Rome. The Council of Trent drew up its statement of doctrine and canons "concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass" at its twenty-second session in 1562. Here it is stated that our Lord, "though about to offer Himself once to God the Father on the altar of the Cross . . . that He might effect there an eternal redemption," yet instituted the sacrament "that He might leave to His Church a visible sacrifice whereby that bloody sacrifice to be accomplished once on the cross might be represented, and its memory continued to the end of the world; and its saving virtue applied for the remission of the sins which we daily commit." This visible sacrifice is "truly propitiatory,

[1] III. lxxx. 12.

[2] See B. J. Kidd, *The Later Mediæval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.*

both for the living and the dead": through it, "if we come to God with true heart and right faith, with fear and reverence, contrite and penitent, we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need." On the Cross and on the altar the Victim is one and the same: "He who offered Himself then on the cross, now offers by the ministry of priests: only the method of offering is different." So far from doing any kind of despite to the sacrifice of the Cross, it is by means of the sacrifice of the altar that the fruits of that sacrifice are most richly received. It is plain that, as Dr. Pusey wrote in 1865, "the Council of Trent, in laying down the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, claims nothing for the Holy Eucharist but an application of the one meritorious sacrifice of the Cross." Anything mechanical in that application is avoided by the importance attached to right dispositions. Moreover the importance of communion was clearly emphasized by the Council, which expressed its desire that at every Mass the faithful who are present might communicate, that so they might obtain "the richer fruit of this most holy sacrifice"; yet Masses without communicants are defended, partly on the ground that the faithful may communicate spiritually, and partly that the public minister of the Church acts not only for himself but for all the faithful.[1]

It is to be noted that the Council of Trent did not enter upon any detailed explanation of the nature of the sacrifice of the altar, and in particular made no reference to "destruction" as a necessary element in it. In subsequent discussions of the subject however by Roman Catholic theologians this idea has had, and still has, a very prominent place. The definition of sacrifice given by St. Thomas Aquinas has been generally adopted, and various theories have been advanced with a view to bringing the sacrifice of the altar into line with it. There have been teachers whose tendency has been to minimize the element of destruction, and to find it, for example, in the fraction of the consecrated Host,[2] or in the consecration and consumption of the sacrament[3]: Suarez (1548–1617) found it in the change in the elements, whereby is produced that presence of the Body and Blood of Christ upon the altar which to him was the essence of the sacrifice; Vasquez (1551–1604), supported in the last century by Perrone, in the slaying of Christ on the cross represented by the separate consecration of the bread and wine. Of more influence, at any rate in modern times, have been the theories of those who have made much of the element of destruction. The most famous of these is Cardinal de Lugo (1583–1660), who taught that in the Mass the Body of Christ is brought into a "lower condition," being destroyed in so far as it is rendered useless for the purposes of a human body, and made fit for food and drink; thus in each Mass there is a fresh self-humiliation of Christ: Christ submits Himself anew to a victim condition and leaves Himself at the mercy of mankind. The

[1] Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 126–8. Melchior Canus (*d.* 1560).
[2] Bellarmine (*d.* 1621).

consecration, as the act whereby this is accomplished, is the act of sacrifice. This theory was revived in the last century by Cardinal Franzelin (*d.* 1886), and through him obtained wide acceptance in the Church of Rome. In recent years, however, it has been giving way to the view that the act of sacrifice consists in the mystical slaying effected by the separate consecration of the bread and wine. This is not merely the theory of Vasquez and Perrone and others before them that the separate consecration is a mystical representation of the slaying on the Cross: it definitely connects a mystical slaying with the consecration. Though the glorified Flesh and Blood of Christ cannot be again subjected to actual physical separation, yet inasmuch as by consecration first the bread is made His Body, and then the wine is made His Blood, there is a certain sacramental separation; and here again the consecration, as the act whereby this is effected, may be said to have the essential nature of a sacrificial act.

It is difficult to read detailed statements of these theories without regretting the lengths to which men may be led by the desire to accommodate the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass to a preconceived idea of what a true and proper sacrifice must be. Nevertheless we must not exaggerate their importance as a ground of discord or disunion. They are theories and not official dogmatic statements; the dominant theory has varied considerably from time to time; other views of a quite different tendency have been advanced without rebuke[1]; the Roman Church is not actually committed to anything beyond the teaching of the Council of Trent. It is true that the theories referred to above do tend towards making the Mass an act of sacrifice, not indeed independent of, but distinct from and additional to the sacrifice of Calvary. Yet in estimating their real meaning, we must allow full weight to the fact that Roman theologians, while asserting that the sacrifice of the altar must be an actual sacrifice, maintain also quite definitely that "the glorified Victim cannot be *really* transformed, much less destroyed," and that whatever efficacy there is in the sacrifice of the altar, is ultimately derived from the sacrifice of the Cross, which they yield to none in regarding as the one universal absolute sacrifice for the salvation of the world.

IV

We turn now to consider our subject in its immediate relation to ourselves. It cannot be too clearly stated that the reforming

[1] Thus, in the nineteenth century Drs. Wilhelm and Scannell have felt free to eliminate the element of destruction altogether, and to regard the sacrifice rather as the offering of a life to God. In the seventeenth century De Condren, Olier, and Thomassin, in the nineteenth Thalhofer, have insisted on the union of the sacrifice of the altar with our Lord's heavenly offering, which has been so much left out of sight since the Council of Trent. By others the existence of this heavenly sacrifice is characterized as "only a beautiful theological dream."

movement of the sixteenth century, so far as it concerned the Eucharistic Sacrifice, was directed both abroad and in England, not against the authorized teaching of the Western Church, but against those lower forms of popular belief and practice to which reference has already been made. Luther, for example, as documents show, had in view the opinion that Christ was offered on the cross for original, on the altar for actual, sin, the consequent "infinite multitude" of Masses, the debasing of the Mass to "a mere object of traffic and huckstering." His remedy was revolutionary: he found it not in a return from unsound to sound doctrine, but in a complete denial of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the denunciation of the canon of the Mass as an "abomination." Other Continental reformers also, while differing much in their views of the Eucharistic Presence, were at one in denying the sacrifice, either entirely, or in any sense other than that in which the term may be used of any prayer, or of a remembrance of the sacrifice of the Cross, or of a means whereby the benefits of the Passion may be received.

In England the position was similar, but the consequences were far less drastic and subversive. It is true that Cranmer and others with him lost their faith in the Real Presence and also their faith in the sacrifice, except in the secondary sense just mentioned. But the private beliefs of Cranmer were not fastened upon the Church to the exclusion of all others.

The Prayer Book in its final form, with its dislocated canon, does indeed obscure the sacrificial aspect of the Mass; it by no means denies it. The Articles, which might so easily have been made to deny the sacrifice altogether, had it been so desired, were in fact carefully worded so as to reject only such theories of the sacrifice as might seem either to imply some defect in the sacrifice of the Cross, or to encourage mechanical views of the multiplication of Masses and of the application of their benefits. It is of course an undeniable fact that since the Reformation period views as to the Eucharist have been held, and indeed for long periods have predominated, in the English Church, which fall very far short of Catholic standards as represented by the faith of undivided Christendom; but it is also the fact that those Catholic standards have never been repudiated by the English Church, and that beliefs fully in accord with them, both as to the Eucharistic Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, have been held and taught by many of her greatest sons.

We may go further: not only did the English Church not repudiate Catholic standards, she definitely claimed to maintain them; in the preface to her Prayer Book, she professes to stand for "the doctrine . . . and practice . . . of the whole Catholic Church of Christ." Through the violence of reaction and the influence of foreign Protestantism she lost sight of her own ideals, and hitherto to a large extent has failed to realise them. We are here to-day because we believe that she has it in her to realise them

yet: the aim of the Catholic movement is to help her to do so. And as in other matters, so with regard to the sacrifice of the altar, we want her to know the greatness of her own inheritance. We believe that she has, and has always had, even when she has been least conscious of it, the true sacrifice of the Mass, for the sacrifice depends on a valid consecration by a valid priesthood, not upon man's understanding of it or the perfection of its liturgical expression; but we want her to know that she has it, and to offer the Holy Sacrifice with full consciousness of what she does.

With that end in view we teach the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; and for our standard of teaching we turn to the "doctrine of the whole Catholic Church of Christ." And where are we to find that doctrine?

We cannot, I venture to think, identify it with the later theories of Roman Catholic theologians to which reference has been made. Neither the definition of sacrifice from which those theories start, nor the conclusions with which they end, can claim the support either of the ancient undivided Church or of the Orthodox East to-day; indeed it is probable that the theologians themselves would not regard them as an essential part of the Catholic faith.

Nor on the other hand do we find a satisfactory statement of it in our own Anglican formularies. We assent to the Prayer Book and Articles, honestly believing that they admit, and were intended to admit, "the doctrine of the whole Catholic Church"; but the evident signs which they bear of the controversies and compromises of the times in which they were produced, detract from their value as a positive statement of that doctrine.

We are left therefore to find our standard in the beliefs and teaching of the undivided Catholic Church. It is a standard which permits a certain latitude of expression, seeing that the Church as a whole has never authorized any formulated statement of the doctrine; nor does it warrant a hasty condemnation of all who do not hold what would seem to us the fullness of the truth.

Nevertheless the chief points of the doctrine are sufficiently clear, and have been summarized above. The central truth of all we may repeat, and it is this: the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice, because the bread and wine therein set forth upon the altar become, by an unspeakable mystery, the Body and Blood of Christ. That is the truth which differentiates what we may rightly call the Catholic doctrine from that purely metaphorical use of sacrificial language which has so often done duty for the Catholic doctrine among Anglican theologians. The reality of the sacrifice is a direct consequence of the reality of the sacramental Presence of our Lord. The oblations of bread and wine which we offer at the offertory, become, by virtue of their consecration, an oblation infinitely greater; become—we believe, not knowing how—the Body and Blood of Christ Himself: we offer then the Body and Blood of Christ, a true and proper sacrifice, because they are the Body and Blood of Him who is the perfect Sacrifice. Those other points

which the Church has emphasized about the sacrifice, its connection with the sacrifice of Calvary, its union with the heavenly intercession, are in fact but different aspects of this central truth. Offering the Body and Blood of Christ, we offer Christ Himself—Christ who died, who rose, who lives, in all the fullness of His sacrificial efficacy. And for the rest, since there may be much in such a mystery which lies beyond human thought and speech, we may be content to feel that all that is in it by our Lord's own intention, we who offer it, according to His commandment and the tradition of the Church, may claim as our own.

And " this our sacrifice " we offer to God for three great ends. First as a sacrifice of praise, offering the most perfect offering of our humanity to the praise and honour and glory of the Eternal Trinity—this is the highest and most essential part of Eucharistic worship, to which even the adoration of Christ in His sacramental Presence must yield first place ; secondly, as a sacrifice of thanksgiving, offering in Christ, what of ourselves we are powerless to offer, a perfect return to God for all His gifts of nature and of grace ; thirdly, as a sacrifice of propitiation, " that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion," claiming by means of the sacrifice of the altar the propitiatory merits of the sacrifice of the Cross for the living and the dead. And if we are asked to say what we regard as the specific act of sacrifice, we shall feel, as the whole Church learned to feel, that it is the act of consecration, whereby the Presence of the Christ is vouchsafed to us and our offerings of bread and wine become our Sacrifice. Yet, while we say this, we shall not forget that the act of sacrifice which begins there, does not end there, and cannot end short of communion ; for it is by communion that we receive into ourselves the life of the sacrificed Victim and so attain that fourth and greatest end of sacrifice, union with Christ and through Him with God. So we shall desire and encourage the communion, and the frequent communion, of the faithful : churches in which the sacrifice of the altar is most fully taught are not, as a fact, the churches in which communions are fewest. Yet at the same time we shall strongly maintain the right of attendance without communion, and its value. None of us would for one moment suppose that hearing Mass can ever be a substitute for communion : but we do believe that those who are habitually living in the communicant's relation with our Lord have a perfect right to be present, and may have a real part in the sacrificial offering, even though not communicating on a particular occasion, and also that the right to be present and a share in the offering cannot be denied to the baptized children of the Church not yet admitted to Communion.

Further we should desire to see the removal of the rubrics which require communicants at every Mass. They were framed in circumstances very different from our own, in view of tendencies

which no longer exist. All priests would, I suppose, prefer to celebrate with the assistance of the faithful and with communicants; but no priest ought to incur even a suspicion of disobedience because out of devotion he wishes, whether with or without communicants, to exercise frequently the highest function of his office. Encouragement to the daily offering of the Holy Sacrifice is needed, and not discouragement, and, were it given, would do much for the devotional life of the clergy and the welfare of the Church.

In conclusion I would suggest three reasons why as Catholics we should specially desire and work for the fuller recognition of the sacrifice of the altar. First, we should desire it because we believe it to be a truth revealed to us by God in His Word and in His Church, and as such we cannot be content to see it neglected. If our Lord has given us this way of presenting His sacrifice, and of claiming and obtaining the application of its merits, we ought to avail ourselves of it to the full, and not to doubt its efficacy as a means of advancing God's kingdom in the world, in the Church and in individual souls, in this life and in the life beyond the grave.

Secondly, because in these days there is a tendency in some quarters to make little of the atoning sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour, perhaps in part due to past neglect of its perpetual memorial at the altar. We, as Catholics, believe in that atoning sacrifice; we believe too that men need it, little as they may be conscious of their need. In the sacrifice of the altar we have the appointed way in which the sacrifice of Calvary is to be "proclaimed" before men, and the appointed way in which those who are brought to know their need of it may find their needs supplied.

Lastly, the due recognition of the sacrifice of the altar will help to give a right direction to the whole religion of our English Church. Is it not true that for long our English religion has been in the main self-centred? And may not that, too, be largely due to neglect of the sacrifice of the altar? So long as the central act of Christian devotion is thought of only or principally as a means of receiving, so long will religion be centred upon self. But let that central act be recognised as an act of worship and offering and sacrifice, and Christian life, which draws its inspiration and its power from the altar, will more and more become a life which is offered, a life which is made a living sacrifice, a life whose object is not self but God.

VI

CORPORATE RELIGION

B. THE RESERVED SACRAMENT

By G. A. Michell

In treating of a subject on which there is much controversy, two alternatives are possible. It is possible to select for discussion the particular points most hotly debated at the moment, or it is possible, in a brief survey, to indicate a general position in the hope that with a truer perspective may come a greater measure of agreement. The latter alternative will be the aim of this paper.

As early as the second century of our era, occasional references are found to the practice of reserving the Blessed Sacrament, by the beginning of the third it was undoubtedly an established custom.[1] Historically, therefore, Reservation is on the same level as Infant Baptism. The evidence for the one is as early, as plentiful, and as authoritative as for the other.

The primary purpose of Reservation in those early times was the communion of those who were absent from the celebration of the Eucharist. Many causes would operate to make such a provision necessary, and though little emphasis is laid upon them, sickness or imprisonment were probably among the most frequent and the most urgent.

Somewhat startling, in view of modern usage, is the fact that for some centuries the laity freely reserved the Sacrament in their own homes, and communicated themselves as need arose. In later times regulations gradually came into force by which Reservation was confined to churches, and the administration of the Sacrament to the clergy. But the earlier custom is evidence of the laymen's right of access to the Sacrament, and the later regulation imposes a corresponding obligation on the clergy to satisfy to the full needs which the laity can no longer satisfy themselves.

But to provide communion for the absent was not held to exhaust the blessings made available by the Reserved Sacrament.

Just as when Liturgies came to be formed, Christian piety seized the opportunity to surround the central ceremonies of consecration and communion with other acts of devotion—with intercession, adoration, thanksgiving, and the like—so also Christian piety was

[1] St. Justin Martyr, *Apol. P.G-L.*, vi, 65 and 67. Tertullian, *De Oratione, P. L.*, i, 1181–3; *Ad Uxorem, P. L.*, i, 1296. St. Cyprian, *De Lapsis, P. L.*, iv, 486.

not slow to find edifying uses for the Reserved Sacrament subsidiary to the main purpose of communion. Such was the custom of the *Eulogiæ*, which is referred to by St. Irenæus in the second century as already a well established practice.[1]

Eulogiæ were consecrated Hosts sent by Bishops of different dioceses to one another, especially at Easter, the Holy Sacrament being used in this way to express the unity of the Church throughout the world.

Somewhat later, and to express the unity of the local Church, a Host from the Bishop's Mass was sent to parish churches when the priest of the district celebrated the Holy Eucharist. This was called the *Fermentum*. What was expressed in regard to space by the *Eulogiæ* and *Fermentum* was expressed in regard to time by the ceremony of the *Sancta*.

The *Sancta* were particles of the Reserved Sacrament which were brought in procession to the altar and presently mingled with the newly consecrated Chalice.

St. Germanus of Paris has left an interesting and significant account of this ceremony. "The Lord," he says, "commanded Moses to make silver trumpets which the Levites were to sound whenever the sacrifice was offered . . . so that all might bow down and adore the Lord, while the column of fire or cloud approached which sanctified the sacrifice. And now the Church hymns the Body of Christ as it advances to the altar, yet no longer with trumpets, but with spiritual voices singing the glories of Christ in sweet measures."[2] Such were the emotions with which a Bishop of the sixth century witnessed a procession of the Host.

Another account of the same ceremony describes how when the Reserved Sacrament is brought in, the celebrant adores It—*primo adorat Sancta*.[3]

It is clearly but a short step from processions dictated by liturgical exigencies to processions designed to edify the faithful.

The earliest evidence of such development comes to us from the Constitutions of Archbishop Lanfranc, who ordained that a procession of the Host should be held on Palm Sunday.[4]

It is easy to understand how souls edified by processions of the Blessed Sacrament learnt to seek the Tabernacle for purposes of private devotion; how Exposition came into being as the spontaneous expression of popular desires, and how the combination of Exposition with certain forms of evening prayer developed into Benediction.[5]

Historically, then, the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament, though rooted in antiquity, emerged in approximately its present form in

[1] *Ep. ad Victorem.* Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 24.

[2] *Expositio brevis antiquæ Liturgiæ Gallicanæ*, *P. L.*, lxxii, 92, 93.

[3] Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii, p. 43; quoted in Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved*, p. 79. Cf. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, pp. 128, 129.

[4] *Decreta pro ord. St. Benedicti*, i, 4.

[5] *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, ii, 465, 466, Art. "Benediction" (H. Thurston S.J.).

connection with that great revival of religion which reached its zenith in the thirteenth century. It has intimate connections also with the Catholic revivals of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. If history, therefore, goes for anything, the present progress of this devotion is full of promise for the future of religion in this country.

For upwards of eight hundred years the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament has held a place in the devotional life of Western Catholics —a place which three great revivals have confirmed in no uncertain manner. A devotion so spontaneous in its growth, so free in its exercise, so long continued, so steadily extending, is clearly a fact of Christian experience which demands the most reverent attention of all who honour the name of Christ.

It is, indeed, inextricably connected with the whole range of religious experience which corresponds with Catholic doctrines of the Eucharist.

Advisedly I say "doctrines," because there are several quite distinguishable expressions of Eucharistic doctrine which each admittedly involve the cultus. There are the various shades of doctrine which have sheltered under the word Transubstantiation. There is the doctrine of a true objective presence which declines to investigate the mystery of *how* the Eucharistic gifts are Christ's Body and Blood, the doctrine, that is, of the Fathers of the Undivided Church which was so strongly reasserted in this country by the Tractarians. Recently an important contribution to Eucharist theology has been made by Mr. Will Spens[1]; Dr. Waterman's[2] interesting essay will also be familiar to many in this hall. All these formulations of Catholic doctrine allow for the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament. Even a modernist such as M. Le Roy[3] is far from denying the legitimacy of devotion before the Tabernacle.

To suppose, therefore, that the cultus has any exclusive connection with the doctrine of Transubstantiation is clearly contrary to fact. There is, indeed, an element of absurdity in finding a necessary connection between a practice which depends upon the presence of Christ, and a theory which asserts the absence of certain earthly substances. It has occasionally happened in the history of the Church that some who have believed in some sense the doctrine of the Real Presence have denied the permanence of that Presence in the Holy gifts; St. Cyril of Alexandria knew of such people and condemned them. "I hear," he wrote, "they say that the Sacramental Consecration does not avail for hallowing if a portion of it be kept for another day. In saying so they are mad. For Christ is not altered, nor will His Holy Body be changed; but the power of the Consecration and the life-giving grace are permanent in it."[4]

[1] *Belief and Practice*, Lectures X and XI. Cf. *A Cross-Bench View of the Reservation Controversy*, by Hakluyt Egerton and Will Spens.
[2] *Primitive Tradition of the Eucharistic Body and Blood.*
[3] *Dogme et Critique*, p. 26. Cf. pp. 258 ff.
[4] *Ep. ad Calosyrium.* Dr. Stone's translation.

An opinion resembling that condemned by St. Cyril has been maintained by certain Lutheran divines in Germany, and is not without support in the writings of Luther himself.[1] But such exceptions only serve to illustrate the general rule that statements of Eucharistic doctrine which inculcate a true objective Presence are held to imply the lawfulness and desirability of the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament.

A variety of objections of very varying importance has been collected and controverted by Fr. Alfred Kelly in his recent book, *The Cultus of the Sacramental Presence in the Eucharist and in the Reserved Sacrament.* But more surprising than the objections he refutes is a new objection of his own which he claims to be weighty, if not conclusive. He maintains that the presence in the Reserved Sacrament "is a passive presence cut off from Christ's living and active relations with the Father and with us."[2] This is an exact quotation, and I venture to believe I shall not be singular in claiming that it means precisely nothing. For a presence which is passive and cut off from living and active relations with the Father and with us is no presence at all. The phrase is a description not of presence, but of absence. It should be added that Fr. Kelly admits the difficulty of establishing an objection to the cultus by the inductive method, the method by which he has exhaustively and cogently refuted other objections, and falls back upon an *a priori* argument. But as the premisses admittedly lack inductive foundation, and are certainly not given by revelation, this curious essay in deduction provides a striking example of what Bacon calls *intellectus sibi permissus.*"

It is not sufficiently realised that opposition to the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament is inconsistent with the claim so widely urged that English Churchmen must in nowise limit their outlook to specifically Anglican religious experience. We are constantly told that we must be prepared to recognise the workings of the Holy Spirit in the devotional developments of Protestant nonconformity. Such a proposition will be disputed by no one in this hall. But ours is a wider outlook.

We claim an ungrudging and unequivocal recognition for the whole of Christian experience—for the infinitely greater part—for the Catholic part—as well as for those more recent and partial developments which date from the sixteenth century.

Only by a frank recognition of all the facts belonging to its own field—the facts, that is, of religious experience—can any system of religion either hope or deserve to appeal to the human heart and will.

Probably there has never been a time in the world's history when so many things combined to distract the minds of men and drive God from their thoughts. Never was there a time when the good seed ran so great a risk of being choked by the "cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches and the lusts of other things entering in."[3]

[1] Darwell Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, vol. ii, pp. 23, 24.
[2] P. 131.
[3] St. Mark iv. 19.

Never, therefore, was there a time when souls stood in greater need of assistance to break through the net of material interests and distractions in which they are enmeshed, and to enter into vivid apprehension of spiritual reality. The need is obvious, and it is equally obvious that it is in fact being satisfied by the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament.

Modern indifference to religion is a problem which is giving the gravest concern to all thoughtful men. Dr. McDougall[1] for example, the well-known psychologist, sees in such indifference the most serious danger which threatens the very life of civilisation. He finds a primary cause of this indifference in the overthrow of primitive notions of causation. Now it is obvious that mankind can never return to outgrown ideas of natural science. But the Catholic Church has something better by which to support the religion of mankind than any notion of causation. She proclaims that the sons of men can enter into *communion* with the Maker and Redeemer of the Universe.

At the moment it would seem that many who have lost a false support for faith have not yet learned the blessings of the true. It is therefore clearly the duty of the Church to do all in her power to emphasise communion with God, and impress its reality on all whom she can reach.

In practice this is bound to mean frequent Communion. Nothing can take the place of Sacramental Communion, and the desire for Sacramental Communion is notoriously strengthened and intensified by devotion before the Tabernacle.

The present facts of Christendom make patent the connection between frequent Communion and the cultus of the Holy Sacrament Reserved.

In the East frequent Communion and the cultus are alike unknown, in the Roman obedience both frequent Communion and the cultus are more widely practised than in any other part of Christendom—in our own communion it is precisely among those who desire or enjoy free access to the Tabernacle that the practice of frequent Communion is making its greatest progress.

An enhanced appreciation of sacramental principles is not peculiar to any section of the English Church, it is not even confined within the spacious frontiers of Catholic Christendom. The leaven of the Catholic Revival is working in many various directions, but in none so surely as in the furtherance of sacramental truth. Herein rests the assurance that all the sacramental principle involves will be accepted in God's good time. Herein is the strongest hope for the triumph of truth, of unity and progress.

[1] *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, chap. xiii.

VI

CORPORATE RELIGION

C. THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED

WITH A SHORT NOTE ON SPIRITUALISM AS SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY

By A. T. B. Pinchard

[Note.—The writer wishes strenuously to deprecate any sort of claim or pretence to originality, unless it be merely that of the manner of the presentment of the case in this paper. He merely repeats what he has learned from the teaching of the doctors of the Church, and he feels very strongly that in a matter of such desperate importance as that of which the paper treats, the expression of any personal opinions or speculations would be entirely out of place.

So far as he knows, the contention of this paper has behind it the very strong consensus of wise judgment and opinion among the teachers of the Church from St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas downwards. It is in reliance upon this fact, and upon this fact alone, that he felt himself able to accept the invitation to speak on this subject on so momentous and important an occasion.]

It is necessary, for the better understanding of the conclusions at which it is hoped in this paper to arrive, to say a few words at the outset about the constitution of human nature.

The human being is compact of spirit and body. Spirit without body is not human being. Body without spirit is not human being. And in human nature each is made for the other. The fundamental and unchanging fact about a human being is that he is spirit and belongs to that family of spirits of which God is the father.

It is, indeed, the fact that the human spirit is the lowest and least of all the spirits that belong to that divine family, but it is none the less as truly spirit as is an angel, or God Himself.

There is, of course, an enormous difference of intellectual greatness and of power of will between one rank of spirits and another. But all spirits as such belong to one family, and to a greater or less extent enjoy and exercise all the powers which are proper to their constitution and mode of being.

Every spirit is incorruptible and immortal, has personal life and is free from the limitations which are imposed by the laws of time and space. It also has normally no affinity with matter, and knows nothing of what we understand by sensation or of sense-activities. Positively speaking, its proper activities are those, and only those, of the intellect and the will.

In the spirit-world all knowledge is imparted from above—that is, ultimately from the mind of the Father of Spirits, which is God Himself. The spirit perceives truth by direct intuition, and needs no medium through which to receive or to impart it.

Perhaps it may be said that knowledge is diffused throughout the life of the spirit-world in such a manner that an individual spirit comes by knowledge as easily and simply as in this world we come by light and air.

It necessarily has knowledge of all things that belong to any sphere of life inferior to its own, except that it has not necessarily any knowledge beforehand of the free acts of rational creatures.

These are the proper characteristics of spirit nature in its eternal and natural perfection, and the human spirit has all these powers and characteristics from the moment when, having been created by God for a particular body, it is united with that body in the mother's womb.

* * * * * *

It is necessary to bear in mind in any analysis of human nature the radical difference which is between spirit and matter. There is no natural affinity between the one and the other. " Spirit," considered purely, must be regarded as being entirely remote from " matter," and, normally speaking, incapable of entering into any sort of union with it.

Yet, nevertheless, by the will of God and by the action of His irresistible power, in the case of human nature spirit is intimately and closely allied with matter by its union with the body. And so there comes about a real alliance between these two opposites—spirit and matter—in the unique case of the human being. For here we have " spirit " created in such a way as to be capable of performing the same functions as those which " soul " performs in the lower animal world ; and yet at the same time, there is no loss of, or detriment to, its proper powers, and its capacity for existence as a free spirit in the life of the " glorious liberty of the Sons of God " is perfectly preserved. " Soul " must be distinguished from " spirit." In the animal world below the degree of human nature, " soul " is to the body the active principle of life. But the soul of an animal is not immortal, and perishes with the organism which it has served during life.

To sum up : The unique and peculiar characteristic which distinguishes the human from all other spirits is, that it is capable of performing the functions of a soul, that is of a principle of life and sensation to an organised material body, in addition to possessing

high spirit powers and being capable of existing in the sphere of spirit-life apart from time, matter, space, and sensation, if at any time it should be separated from the organism with which for the time being it has been united.

The spirit, however, in human nature is not aware of all these powers, nor able to use them. It can only exercise its proper faculties under the conditions and limitations which are imposed for the time being by its union with the material body.

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One must think of the spirit not as being merely present *in* the body, but as being truly and entirely united with it; yet in such a way that the predominating spring of action lies in the spirit rather than in the body, throughout which it is diffused as an immanent principle of life and action.

In this strange and unique partnership there is a continuous interaction going on of the one upon the other. And chiefly it must be noted here that the work of the spirit, which naturally strains upwards toward God, is to raise the sensitive life of the body so as to bring it in the ways both of impulse and restraint, to a higher degree of perfection than can be found elsewhere in any animal life in the world.

The spirit, if it secure, as it should, the dominating power in this partnership, can and does raise the life of the human being to a very high degree of intellectual and spiritual activity.

It must be recognised that this work of uplifting and raising the sense-life of the body necessarily involves a tremendous strain upon the spirit-soul. For there is a downward inclination about organised matter which needs the impulse which the spirit can give in order to lift it and keep it at the highest possible level.

Briefly, then, it may be said that while, on the one hand, the spirit depends upon the body as necessary not only for self-expression but also for all the knowledge of itself and of everything outside of itself which it may need to acquire, yet, nevertheless, the body does cause a certain amount of difficulty which has to be surmounted by the spirit with the assistance of the grace of God imparted to it.

By the aid of this grace it is able to achieve in the life of the human being that which we call " Spiritual Life."

Spiritual life may be defined as life lived under conditions in which the spirit, straining upwards toward God, is the dominant partner in union with the body, and in which the will is fixed more or less continuously upon righteousness, and is held more or less in steadfast accord with the will of God, with the result that the whole sense-life of the body is disciplined, refined, and exalted in harmony with, and in submission to, this ideal.

Spiritual life depends, then, on a more or less permanent and persistent volitional attitude of the human being towards God

and the desire of holiness, together with a corresponding aversion from and abhorrence of sin and evil.

This is what is really meant by the " Love of God." The love of God is the more or less constant attitude of delight in, and desire for, the beauty of holiness, in which the intellect and will co-operate, and to which their action subdues and raises the sense-life of the body.

Unhappily, we know that in human experience this attitude of the will is not ordinarily maintained without wavering, owing to the loss of stability which is a consequence of the Fall.

That want of stability is peculiar to our present experience, and, as will be seen, must necessarily be rectified so soon as the spirit shall pass from under the conditions which govern human life in this phase of its existence, and shall have entered into the freedom and glory of the life of the spirit-world. In that world there is no such instability of volitional attitude. There an act of the will once made is permanent and immutable.

Thus it comes about that when a human being, having spiritual life, passes from the imperfect condition of this phase of life through the crisis of the death of the body, his volitional attitude towards God undergoes a change of character. While he is still in the body, his will towards God might waver or fail, and so we pray that " we may not for any pains of death fall from Thee." But if his will toward God holds fast through that crisis, then as he enters into the new atmosphere and new conditions of free spirit-life, his will toward God becomes a permanent and unalterable thing. It can never more waver, change, or fail, any more than can that of the Holy Angels, and for similar reasons.

Before we approach the consideration of the great crisis of human experience which we call death, it may be well to say briefly what is really known to us about the denizens of the spirit-world. On this point we speak not speculatively but with certain knowledge given to us by revelation from God in the Holy Scriptures.

The spirit-world, so far as has been made known to us, is divided into three sections. God is over all—the Master Mind and the Sovereign Will of the Universe and of the family of spirits which He has created and over which He presides.

Below Him there are many degrees of spirits whom we call angels, as it is written: " He maketh spirits His angels." These are ranked, degree by degree, Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim, Dominions, Virtues and Powers, Principalities, Archangels and Angels throughout the whole Hierarchy of Light.

And as there is a Hierarchy of Light, so is there also a Hierarchy of Darkness, which in a measure corresponds to that of light. In this there are found angels fallen from their first estate, headed and governed by Lucifer or Satan, who exercise their activities in opposition to the will of God ; and these are specifically recognised in Holy Scripture as the inveterate enemies of the human race.

In the second section are those human spirits which have

passed out of this phase of life-experience and are to be found among those whom we specifically designate " The Saints," in the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision ; while with these may be classed also other spirits more recently departed from the body, who are, as St. Peter says, " in prison," who are " in the hand of God," and by an act of God and with their own consent are for a time debarred from access to the Beatific Vision.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the Holy Scriptures contemplate the practical possibility of the final condemnation of some human spirits, however terrible the thought of this may be to our minds.

In the third section, therefore, are those spirits which have departed this life in a state of direct antagonism to goodness and of alienation from God. That attitude of will in their case has become, as in the case of the saved, irrevocable and unchangeable.

These are wandering spirits that have no home. We can only dimly guess at the condition of their drear estate. Cut off from love and light and from the source of life which is in God Himself—it may well be, since all their desires in this life centred upon material things, and because they have said of evil " Be thou my good," that they are in some fashion earthbound. And if they find alliance anywhere in the spirit-world, it seems probable that they must find it with the fallen angels, and are associated with them in opposition to the will of God and in a fratricidal antagonism toward the whole human race.

We may now consider that great crisis of human experience which comes with the separation of the spirit from the body. It is at once a tragedy and a glory. One must not speak of the separation of the spirit from the body as though that were the cause of death. Rather it were true to say that death—the death of the body—is the cause of the separation of the spirit from it. The occasion of the departure of the spirit is the complete disruption and breakdown of the human organism, so that the spirit is no longer able to make any use of it. When this occurs, the spirit withdraws itself immediately, for the only real tie of the spirit to the body is that in and through the body the spirit finds opportunity for its intellectual and volitional activities. When the organism fails, these activities can no longer be manifested through the body, and the spirit therefore frees itself from that which has become nothing other than an encumbrance, and passes instantly into the pure spirit-state, remote from matter, space, and time. It becomes aware of itself as spirit and of its proper powers in a sense and to a degree of which it was incapable before. It acquires a full knowledge of the spirit-world and of the whole universe below its own degree, by that immediate intellectual illumination which is characteristic of the free spirit-life.

Now the condition of a human spirit in eternity is, as we have seen, determined by the will-attitude of it towards or away from God at the last possible moment of its union with the body. That

attitude of will in the case of a spirit which departs in a state of grace is transformed in the moment of its departure from the body into an irrevocable and unchanging act of spirit-will by which the condition of that spirit is fixed for ever.

The reason why the spirit-will, which is free before choice, is bound and fixed after the act of choice has been made, is because that act of choice is made in the spirit-world under conditions totally different from those which obtain in this world. In the spirit-world the spirit apprehends all that it does with complete entirety. All side-issues and all the possible consequences and implications of any act of choice are clear to it at the same moment. It exercises its judgment with full knowledge, and it is therefore both just and fair and necessary that its act of will should be irrevocable, just as it is equally just, fair, and necessary that an act of will made in the obscurities which confuse our outlook upon the issues in this life should be revocable on further consideration or in the light of better knowledge.

This is one of the laws of spirit-life and must hold good for the human spirit, when separated from the body, as well as for the angels; and a moment's consideration will show that such a law is indispensable for our peace of mind. Because this is true, the element of instability or uncertainty is finally excluded in our contemplation of that happy and holy state to which we all, humbly depending upon the will of God, aspire.

So, then, at the death of the body, the spirit, having its choice fixed on God as the result of successive acts of will made during this phase of life, passes into the pure spirit-state: the will is maintained fixed upon God through the moment of change, and the spirit by that act of will is irrevocably given to God.

At the same moment in which the spirit enters upon its freedom, it is brought face to face with God in the Particular Judgment. The spirit stands naked, as it were, before the Judge, and sees the beauty of holiness in the face of Jesus Christ; and by and through that vision, and because of the sudden access of knowledge and wisdom with which its intellect is flooded, realises the beauty of holiness as never before, and sees and realises also the heinous character and the black ingratitude of sin seen, not from the human standpoint, but for the first time from the standpoint of the Divine.

And because of the effect of the vision of the holiness of God and of the horror and wickedness of sin then received, the loving and penitent spirit becomes capable of and does then and there make an act of pure contrition, whereby it becomes perfectly pleasing to God, established in grace, and intrinsically fit for and capable of the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision.

This act of contrition is consequent upon the many repeated acts of penitence made during this period of life, and gathers up into itself all those acts of penitence. It supplies all that was inevitably lacking in them, making up for their deficiencies. Para-

doxical as it may sound, it is nevertheless true that but for these tentative and insufficient acts of penitence, this final efficient act could never be made, even under such favourable conditions. It is the direct fruit of them, and they find their proper consummation in this act.

In the ordinary case the spirit then passes into the Purgatorial State. And if it be held back from the immediate enjoyment of the Beatific Vision, that is not because it lacks sanctity, but must be for some other reason which we have yet to seek.

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The spirit, if it be restrained from entering into the joy of the Beatific Vision, can only be restrained by an act of God. And if it be asked why the spirit is so restrained and relegated to the purgatorial condition, the answer to the question is not very easy in any case, and becomes very difficult if we adopt the more sentimental and less scientific theory of purgatory, which is nevertheless the more commonly accepted. The question, of course, cannot be answered without reference to sin—venial and mortal alike.

There are two theories of purgatory of which we must take account before we can answer the question.

The one regards the pain and suffering of purgatory as being intrinsic, and remedial or ameliorative in character and effect. This theory postulates the presence in the saved spirit of certain after-effects or consequences of sin which persist—flaws or stains which mar the purity of the spirit and unfit it for friendship with God in the Beatific Vision—and also the need of intellectual illumination and of progressive growth in holiness.

This theory ignores the fact and effect of an act of pure contrition made under the conditions described above, and involves its advocates in considerable difficulty. For surely some such act must be made at such a moment. In what other manner could man greet his Saviour and Judge ?

Yet unless such an act of contrition, together with the consequences that necessarily flow therefrom, be ignored or denied, it does not seem easy to understand the *rationale* of the pains of purgatory. For if mortal and venial sin are alike absolutely remitted by such an act of contrition, and if the spirit be thereby made intrinsically fit for heaven, there can be no occasion for any ameliorative suffering or for any further process of cleansing or illumination, since these neither are nor could be required in the case of a spirit which is established in grace and wholly pleasing to God.

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And a further difficulty arises when we go on to consider how the waiting, suffering soul can possibly derive any sort of benefit or aid in its progress by the suffrages and devotions offered on its behalf by the Church here on earth.

For if the suffering of purgatory be remedial and ameliorative

in character, and designed to purify the spirit for its advance in holiness until it reaches that state of perfection at which it may be properly admitted to the Beatific Vision, it is difficult to see how under any conceivable conditions that spirit can be released from the purgatorial state until it shall have suffered all that it is necessary for it to suffer in order to achieve its cleansing, complete its progress, and realise its final perfection. It seems that the pain must necessarily go on until its proper effect shall have been achieved, and that it cannot be mitigated or curtailed in any individual case without some corresponding loss to that spirit.

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The other theory regards the penalties of the purgatorial condition as consisting in vindictive and extrinsic suffering deliberately inflicted by God Himself, and as deliberately and as joyfully accepted by these His friends, in order that in the name of justice each one may personally make expiation to the "uttermost farthing" for the sins of his past life, so that his account may be clear with God.

This theory of the exclusion of the spirit from the Beatific Vision and of its detention in the state of purgatorial suffering, is based on a consideration of the fact—so unhappily common in human experience—of the commission of mortal sin.

The effects of mortal sin in man are threefold: (1) It establishes evil habits in the organism, i.e. in the body; (2) it involves the loss of sanctifying grace; (3) it is in itself an offence against divine justice and love, infinitely more grievous than we are able by any stretch of the imagination to measure under the limitations of perception which the blindness of this life imposes upon us.

The evil habits which may have been set up in the organism cease with its death. The loss of sanctifying grace may be repaired by Absolution in the Sacrament of Penance. But the offence against the love and justice of God remains, and it is of so grave a nature that reparation for it can be offered only by one who is or has become worthy to make such an act of reparation.

That this is so fundamental and necessary a truth is seen in the fact that the great and all-prevailing Act of Atonement, by and through the virtue of which alone any other subsequent act of atonement becomes possible, was made and must necessarily have been made, by no less a Person than God Himself Incarnate.

It is not difficult to understand, then, that in spite of the complete forgiveness and remission of all sin, both venial and mortal, there may yet remain in the human spirit a sense of real compunction in respect of the enormity of the sin committed in the past, and that the creature may ardently desire to make full satisfaction for the wrong done. His own sense may unite with the divine sense of justice so as to demand this from him.

It has been well said that, as the satisfaction which God received for the sins of the world was received at the hands of His Only-Begotten and Beloved Son, so it is only at the hands of beloved

sons that God can, if ever, receive satisfaction for the offences they have committed against His love. So far, then, as we are concerned, it is surely evident that if it should ever be possible for us to make personal satisfaction for the sins committed in the body, there can be no moment more fitting for the making of such satisfaction than that in which we find ourselves on a footing of perfect love and favour with God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The offering of such satisfaction on our part does not in any way disparage or impugn the necessity for the Atonement made on our behalf by Christ Himself, for it is only through and by it that any atonement on our part can be made. But, on the other hand, the fact that Christ has made Atonement for our sins and that we are thereby actually saved, does not exclude some effort at atonement or satisfaction on our part, any more than does Christ's own holiness exclude the necessity for holiness in us. Indeed, in each case the example demands emulation. And is it not written: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

The measure of the penalty which Divine Justice may require in each case for mortal sin cannot be estimated by us here. It must, however, be conditioned by three facts. Account must be taken (1) of God's perfection; (2) of man's imperfection; and (3) of the particular circumstances in each individual case.

So, then, on this theory the suffering of purgatory is a vindictive extrinsic suffering, imposed by the act of God Himself. In no other case does the teaching of the Church allow us to ascribe to God the infliction of pain or suffering upon His creatures; but in this unique case the Church is not afraid to attribute this suffering to God as its author and source.

The suffering consists in the fact that the spirit is kept for a longer or shorter period *in statu violento* (as St. Thomas Aquinas puts it) in an unnatural state. It endures spirit-pain—pain infinitely more poignant than we can imagine, because of the delicacy and refinement of the element in which it works; and again, because the faculty of suffering in a free spirit is increased in proportion to the increase of its power of knowing and enjoying God. For the main cause of this pain must be sought in that sense of loss and deprivation which the spirit feels because of its hunger and thirst for the vision of God, from which it is for the time being excluded. Moreover, the spirit is cut off from the natural opportunities which it desires of association with its peers in the celestial sphere.

Yet although there is acute suffering, there is nothing in the nature of torment. The spirit is quite happy, and all is peace, though it be the peace of pain gladly encountered and happily endured for the love and justice of God.

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Again, on this theory, it will be clear that God must deal with each soul individually, absolutely at His own discretion, and according to the dictates of His own wisdom, justice, and mercy,

in the circumstances of each several case. The only law which God must follow is that which His own absolute knowledge of righteousness, sin, and of the case of the individual spirit may dictate. And in all this God is entirely free. He may prolong or curtail, may increase or diminish absolutely at His will, and according to the excellence of His judgment, the degree as well as the period of suffering to be inflicted and endured.

It is suggested by Baron von Hügel, in his comments on the Visions of St. Catherine of Genoa, that it may be well to make some sort of compromise between these two theories of purgatory and of the nature and purpose of the sufferings which are there endured by the spirits of the saved. But it does not seem to the writer of this paper that such a position can be logically held, and of the two he is prepared to adopt and to commend the acceptance of the latter theory, which is endorsed by some of the greatest among the doctors of the Church.

This theory is scientific and intelligible. It accords with the standards of justice both human and divine, and redounds to the glory of God in the Church Militant and the Church Expectant alike. Moreover, it makes clear the accepted relations of the one to the other, and it becomes easy to perceive how our prayers and alms, our suffrages and devotions, and the offering of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ itself, can be accepted by God on behalf of spirits in durance, for the amelioration of their condition, for the assuaging of their pains, and even for the curtailment of the period of their imprisonment in that place of suffering. For in respect of these things we and they alike hang absolutely upon the mercy of God, and are utterly and wholly at His disposal.

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I am asked to say a few words in conclusion about Spiritualism in relation to the Catholic philosophy of the Spirit of Man and to Catholic Eschatology. Setting aside all that class of phenomena and experiment which may be explained by thought-transference, telepathy, auto-suggestion, self-deception, deliberate fraud, and the like, there remains to be considered in this connection the claim of the Spiritualists to the achievement of communication between those in this life and others who have departed from it, and are now denizens of the spirit-world.

No one who had been instructed in the Catholic faith could for a moment be led away by this false and delusive claim. To such persons the futility and danger of these experiments is so obvious and demonstrable, that they could only regard them with contempt because of their inevitable futility, and with dread because of their equally inevitable consequences.

It is impossible to suppose that the spirits of just men made perfect, who are either in the bliss of the Beatific Vision or restrained under the hand of God in the prison of their glorious suffering, can be at the beck and call of a sentimental and often unholy

curiosity, through means of communication that are as ludicrously undignified in character as they are unsatisfactory in result. It is equally impossible to believe that these exalted beings can possibly be the source whence come the drivelling and meaningless messages to which the deluded votaries of this cult attach so fond and extravagant an importance.

But there is a grave danger. If, as seems probable on the evidence, there is some real communication carried on by these means with the spirit-world, it is entirely possible that those who respond from the other side are, either wandering spirits of the lost, earthbound perhaps, but certainly antagonistic alike to God and Man : or still more probably members of the Hierarchy of Darkness, devils who take advantage of the folly and credulity of man, in order to lure him away from God and from the truth as it is in Jesus, and to gain ascendancy over the spirit of the individual with malign intent and disastrous results.

There is no test that can be devised which will exclude the possibility of the impersonation, since the spirit mind, with its immense intellectual range and opportunity, has easy access to false knowledge of any past event which is to be found in human consciousness.

The closest secret of one's past life, and even facts of which one has no conscious recollection, may be seized upon and used by diabolic agency for the purposes of deception with an ultimate inimical intent.

To Catholics, then, the futility and danger of such experiments are obvious. We see and deplore the evidence of the soundness of our judgment in the intellectual, moral, or spiritual degradation which the votaries of this cult of folly and wickedness exhibit.

For us it would be as revolting as irreverent to suppose that the spirits of those whom we have loved in the flesh, now made perfect, could be at the mercy, so to speak, of such methods of approach, or that their heavenly peace should be disturbed in so trivial a manner, and all merely to satisfy an unholy and unnecessary curiosity.

But it may be asked with some show of reason, why there should have been no more definite and clear revelation of the conditions of life which obtain in the spirit-world.

The answer to such an inquiry is really simple enough. The conditions which obtain in that spirit-world, and govern the lives and actions of those exalted intelligences, necessarily transcend all human experience, and probably are of such a nature as that our powers of intelligence, working under the limits imposed by association with matter and by the laws of time and space, are unable to comprehend them.

The modes of life in the spirit-sphere are so utterly remote from those of which we have experience that they cannot be communicated to us as yet. It is not feasible to translate into terms of human experience transcendental facts for which one can find no true parallel in this phase of life.

Any attempt to do this must necessarily result in partial or complete failure, and is certain in the majority of cases to produce an entirely false impression. Obviously, then, it is not to be expected that any attempt in this direction could succeed.

Transcendental modes of being which surpass and exceed the powers of human experience in this life cannot be expressed directly in terms of human speech, and any attempt to express them by symbol or simile, or even by comparison, would inevitably result in confusion and misapprehension. We might as well try to convey to the mind of a caterpillar a conception of the fourth dimension.

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But for us Catholics all that is comparatively unimportant. We know that the Judgment of the Master-Mind of the Universe is infallible and that His will is love. We therefore rest content to know so much as He has shown us, and to wait for further knowledge until such time as He shall see fit to communicate it to us.

It is sufficient for us to know just so much as God has been pleased to reveal, and to rejoice in the certainty that the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and that there can no torment touch them.

VI

CORPORATE RELIGION

D. THE SAINTS AND ANGELS

By Darwell Stone

I

Three passages in the New Testament throw a strong light on some aspects of Christian life. St. Paul says that every family in heaven and on earth has the name of family because of the Fatherhood of God.[1] Our Lord foretells the opened heaven, and the ascent and descent of the angels on the Son of man.[2] Our Lord prays that the unity of those who believe in Him may be like the unity in the life of God.[3]

God, then, is the Father of all who are in His family—the Father of the angels, of the saints, of the faithful dead, of Christians still living on earth. All these have a relation to Him with which may be compared the relation of sons and daughters to father and mother in an earthly home. All these have a relation to one another with which may be compared the relation of brothers and sisters to brothers and sisters in a human family. In the natural family on earth there are differences. There are different degrees of faithfulness to the ideals of the home: so in the family of God the saints have attained to a pre-eminent degree of faithfulness. There are the elder and the younger: so the angels have been described as the elder race, and in Newman's poem this conception of the angels comes to the mind of Gerontius at the moment after death:

> "It is a member of that family
> Of wondrous beings, who, ere the worlds were made,
> Millions of ages back, have stood around
> The throne of God: he never has known sin;
> But through those cycles all but infinite
> Has had a strong and pure celestial life,
> And bore to gaze on the unveiled face of God,
> And drank from the eternal Fount of truth,
> And served Him with a keen ecstatic love."[4]

There are indeed different families. There is the family of the angels. There is the family of the saints. There is the family of

[1] Eph. iii. 14, 15. [2] St. John i. 50, 51.
[3] St. John xvii. 11, 20, 21.
[4] J. H. Newman, *The Dream of Gerontius*, § 2.

departed souls. There is the family of the Church on earth. Yet all these are one family of God. It is perhaps the realisation of this truth which has most helped to preserve among Eastern Christians their vivid sense of fellowship with the angels and the saints.

Our Lord speaks of the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man.[1] He has won Nathanael to acknowledge Him through the penetrating insight by which He has discerned his character and understood the thoughts of his heart; but He tells Nathanael that there are to be greater wonders than the marvel of this supernatural knowledge: "Thou shalt see greater things than these. . . . Ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man." The Lord looks forward to His abiding presence in His Church. The Church is the body of Christ. In the Church the Son of man continuously manifests and imparts His life. Not only in some distant future is the heaven to be open. It has been opened even now through the work of the Incarnation. Even now is the ministry of the angels real and effective. Even now the "fellowship of the seen and the unseen" has been established.[2] In the visible Church, which is Christ's body, the angels, themselves unseen, perform those ministrations which are known by their results.

Our Lord's prayer for those who should believe in Him was that they might be one as He and the Father are one.[3] There are different forms of the unity possessed by the believers in Christ. There is the unity of friendship, there is the unity of love, there is the unity of inter-communion. All these, in their different ways, may reflect the unity of God. But the most real and the most fundamental unity is that of life. It is the flow of life in their eternal Being which makes Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be one God. Unity of life, like unto this unity in God because it is derived from it, is the possession of the glorified saints, of the waiting souls, and of Christians still in our present state. There is one body of the whole Church—the Church in heaven, the Church of the holy dead, the Church on earth—and in this one body there is the unity of one life in God through Christ.

II

So far our consideration of the angels and the saints has led us chiefly to remember our likeness and close relations to them as we all are members of the great family of God, as the angels minister to us, as we share with the saints in the one life which through the manhood of the Son has its centre in God. But there is a glory of the angels which surpasses ours. From the first, Christian

[1] St. John i. 50, 51.
[2] See Bishop B. F. Westcott on St. John i. 51.
[3] St. John xvii. 11, 20, 21.

belief thought of them as in ordered ranks,[1] and as time went on the stages of their greatness and of their work were viewed as the nine choirs, each with its own place and its distinctive name.[2] Through all the ranks there are spiritual beings with high capacities for service and love. And they have never sinned. One thought of Gerontius as he saw the angel was "he never has known sin." No sin in them has ever marred or limited the powers which their nature gives them for worshipping God and for conformity to His will. Hence the splendour, the concentration, the single-heartedness of their worship; and the force, the efficacy, the unselfishness of their service. Yet in their worship we have a part: "With angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven we laud and magnify Thy glorious name." And in their service they are the guardians of the Church and of individual souls,[3] they are God's messengers to us,[4] they help our prayers,[5] they succour our life,[6] they care for us in death.[7]

III

There is the glory of the saints. To them temptations came in different ways from the temptation to the angels. They cannot claim not to have known sin. But, whatever their personal history, or their different characters and stations in life, or their steady progress from their earliest years, or the dislocation when one turned to God from sin by a great conversion, they have in a continuous holiness or in the long run been faithful and victorious. Of them all alike fidelity and triumph may be affirmed. In that common glory there are special crowns—the crown of the apostle, of the confessor, of the bishop, of the doctor, of the martyr, of the holy matron, of the virgin. And above all the rest, so glorious that by comparison she has been termed "our tainted nature's solitary boast,"[8] there is the Mother of our Lord and God. For she possesses a privilege which is all her own. She can never cease to be that which once she became, the Mother of God. To every child of man throughout the world there is one mother who has a unique relation to her babe; and our Lady is the one Mother of the one Being in all the universe who is born of woman and is also eternal God. Therefore of created beings she is the most glorious. Later in time, less in nature, than the Seraphim and the Cherubim, she has been exalted above them[9] by the special relation to God the Son which is the lot of the Mother alone.

[1] See St. Ignatius, *Trall.* v. 2.
[2] See "Dionysius the Areopagite," *Cael. Hier.* vi. 2; ix. 1, 2.
[3] Ps. xci. 11; St. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 7, 15; Heb. i. 14; cf. Rev. i. 20; ii. 1, etc.
[4] E.g. St. Luke i. 19, 26.
[5] Rev. viii. 3, 4.
[6] Acts xii. 7–10.
[7] St. Luke xvi. 22.
[8] W. Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, II. xxi. 4.
[9] Cf. one of the hymns sung in the Eastern Church in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (see e.g. J. Goar, *Euchologium*, p. 78, ed. Paris, 1647), and in the Office (see e.g. *Horologium*, p. 16, ed. Venice, 1876). Cf. Basil of Seleucia, *Orat.* xxxix. 2.

IV

What, then, are the spiritual actions which are called for in us by the angels and the saints and the Mother of our Lord? There is, first, thankfulness. In our dull lives we need the brightness which comes from angel and saint. In trial and temptation we need the encouragement which their victories give. In the difficulty of keeping our ideals high we need the stimulus of knowing their great love. For all the help thus ours by the remembrance of them we thank God. In the words of the first liturgy in the English tongue: "Here we do give unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints from the beginning of the world, and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, and in the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs." Our thankfulness to God, and our thankfulness to saints and angels themselves, lead us to venerate angel and saint. Towards them we have words of reverence: "Hail Mary, full of grace, blessed art thou among women"; "The guardians of our race, our angel guides, we hail." We mark the honour which we pay them by the dedication of our churches, by the use of banners and pictures and images, by our reverence to all representations of them. In the words of the Seventh Œcumenical Council of the Universal Church, "We greet the figure of the honourable and life-giving cross, and the holy relics of the saints, and we receive and greet and embrace the holy and venerable images. . . . These honourable and venerable images . . . we honour and greet and honourably venerate, namely, the image of the incarnation of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and of our unstained Lady the all-holy Mother of God; . . . and of the holy and bodiless angels; . . . and the figures and images of the sacred and far-famed apostles, the prophets who spoke of God, the triumphant martyrs, and the saints."[1] Thankfulness and veneration are our acts in response to what saints and angels in themselves are, and to what they have done and now do for us. Further, we seek the help of the power which the influence of their lives makes to pervade the body of Christ, and we ask for their prayers. When we have said "Hail Mary, full of grace," we continue, "Holy Mary, pray for us sinners now and in the hour of our death." When we have said "The guardians of our race, our angel guides, we hail," we go on:

> "Then, watchful Guardian, spread thy wings and cleave the air,
> Haste to our native home, committed to thy care,
> Drive hence each noxious ill that might the soul infest,
> Nor suffer danger here to rest."[2]

And we are mindful of the great community of prayer among those who are in Christ. I quote the words of a Russian theo-

[1] *Conc. Nic. ii*, Act. iv. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iv. 265 B, C).
[2] *Breviarium Romanum*, Vesper hymn for October 2.

logian: "If anyone believes, he is in the communion of faith; if he loves, he is in the communion of love; if he prays, he is in the communion of prayer. Wherefore no one can rest his hope on his own prayers, and everyone who prays asks the whole Church for intercession, not as if he had doubts of the intercession of Christ, the one Advocate, but in the assurance that the whole Church ever prays for all her members. All the angels pray for us, the apostles, martyrs, and patriarchs, and, above them all, the Mother of our Lord; and this holy unity is the true life of the Church." [1]

V

The Seventh Œcumenical Council, after approving the veneration due to the images of the saints, proceeds: "In proportion as the saints are beheld by their images, those who behold these are uplifted in memory and affection of those who are represented, so as to assign to these greeting and honourable veneration, not the true adoration which is according to our faith and is due to the nature of God only." [2] The invocation and veneration of saints and angels are lower stages in that attitude of worship which culminates in the adoration of God. Through the veneration of the saints, and the high degree of veneration which we accord to the holy Mother of our Lord, we mount upwards to the supreme worship of the Most High Himself.[3] The holy Mother we may indeed address with words of love and reverence and request. Mindful of the sympathy which she has won by the experience of sorrow and of joy, we may say to her:

"Mary, on the Prince of peace thy gladness
Gleams from radiant eyes;
But their light is touched with passing sadness,
Like our English summer skies.

Angels' arms above thy head are holding
Crowns of golden stars;
But the baby hands thy breast enfolding
Show to thee their future scars.

Lilies cense thee with their exhalations,
But thy heart has guessed
Slanders of the scoffing generations
Who will call thee cursed, not blessed.

So when clouds of faint foreboding sorrow
From an unknown sea
Come to warn me of a broken morrow,
Mother Mary, pray for me." [4]

[1] A. S. Khomiakoff, *The Unity of the Church*, § 9, translated in W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, i. 216.

[2] *Conc. Nic. ii*, Act. vii. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iv. 456 B).

[3] See e.g. St. Thomas Aquinas, *S.T.* III. xxv. 5; Bishop Makarios, *Théol. dogm. orth.* ii. 651–660; cf. Androutsos, Δογματική, pp. 424–6; J. Pohle, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, ii. 328–52 (ed. 1912); cf. St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, X. i. 2.

[4] *The Dark Ages and Other Poems*, by "L.," p. 56.

Towards God Himself the thoughts of our hearts and the words of our lips take a different form. At the end of his great poem Dante records his vision of God the Holy Trinity. In all his past experience words had not failed him, and memory had remained clear. He could remember and he could describe what he had seen in hell and in purgatory, what in the paradise he had seen of saints and angels and even of the holy Mother herself. By the vision of the Holy Trinity he was overpowered. His mind could not grasp it; his memory could not recall it; in his words he could say no more than the tiny babe; he could only sink in adoring worship of that Being of Almighty God who alone can comprehend Himself.[1] As so often, the poet of the *Paradiso* has taught the truth. At an infinite height above all created beings is God Himself. Thought and devotion directed to the holy created beings lead to the highest glory of creation, the human nature of God the Son, and through the knowledge of that human nature we stretch upwards to the knowledge of the divine, just as through our sacramental union in the incarnate life we have our participation in the life of God.[2]

[1] Dante, *Paradiso*, xxxiii. 55–145. [2] 2 St. Peter i. 4.

VII

PERSONAL RELIGION

A. PRAYER AND COMMUNION

By G. W. Hockley

The subject with which I have to deal lies in a somewhat different area of thought from those which have preceded it. After the learned and valuable discourses to which we have been listening, I bring to you the simplicities of practical piety.

It is obviously right that our Congress should not close without a strong emphasis on the necessity of Personal Religion. The purpose of the Congress is to witness to the Love of God, manifested in the Incarnation, and bestowed upon us by the Spirit, in the faith and order of the Catholic Church. We desire to make it plain that as Catholics we have one supreme object, to exalt the saving Name of Jesus; and if we insist, as we must insist, on the importance of ecclesiastical discipline, of Catholic ceremonial, of dogmatic orthodoxy, we do so in order that we may safeguard our central treasure, and promote the sovereignty and honour of our Divine Lord. And we know that the highest service we can render to the heart of Jesus Christ is the exhibition of a life surrendered to Him, and growing in conformity to His mind and will.

I have been bidden to speak to you on Prayer and Communion. I cannot attempt to do more than deal very slightly with a few aspects of these great subjects.

I. They are indeed distinct; but, though distinct, there is a real connection between them. Each is a means of establishing and maintaining a vital relationship between the soul and God. Prayer lays stress on the side of human aspiration and effort; Communion on the side of the grace and gift of God.

But in each case the intercourse is mutual: sacramental grace can work no spiritual result unless there be the personal response of the soul; nor could prayer retain its reality unless it came into operative contact with the heart and the will of God.

This spiritual activity is no peculiar possession of the Christian life. It belongs to man as man. The religious instinct is natural to man, everywhere and at all times; and prayer is the simplest expression of that instinct; it is, in Dr. Liddon's words, "the characteristic action of religion." It is based on the affinity between the human soul and its Creator. It rests on two fundamental facts: the capacity of the human spirit, and the graciousness of God.

Man is conscious of his natural emptiness; he is aware of faculties and desires which seek satisfaction, and fail to find it in created things. John Stuart Mill tells us that on one occasion he asked himself the question: If to-morrow all my hopes and plans for the improvement of human life were actually accomplished, if all my dreams came true, should I be happy and content? And he adds that when he found himself forced to admit that he would still be dissatisfied, his heart sank in despair.

For, as George Herbert says, God has indeed planted in the human heart a restlessness; so that, if nothing else shall lead us to Him, our very "weariness shall toss us to His breast." "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless, till it rest in Thee."

Prayer springs from the impulse of that necessity, and from the conviction that God opens His heart to those who approach Him.

Man, who is made in God's image, can experience the reality of intercourse with One who is a Personal Being. "Speak to Him thou, for He hears, and spirit with spirit can meet, closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet."

We look back over the long reaches of human history, and are confronted with this stupendous spectacle. Here is a fact, than which none can be more affecting, more significant, more potent in its influence on human character and human destiny: the fact that under all disguises of ignorance, and grossness, and superstition, as well as in the most refined and spiritual expressions, the savage and the sage, the heathen and the Christian, the sinner and the saint, the little child and the aged disciple, can in a moment overleap the gulf between earth and Heaven, enter the realms of the spiritual world, and unite in their acknowledgment of the words of the Psalmist, "Thou that hearest the prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come."

It is said that Dr. Johnson was asked on one occasion, "What do you consider the strongest argument for prayer?" "Sir," he replied, "there is no argument for prayer." His own practice is sufficient to assure us that by this reply he did not mean that no argument could be produced, but that no argument was required. For prayer is an instinct and a habit as natural to man as breathing or eating—"the native and deepest impulse of the soul of man."

No arguments are needed, I say; but for all that, it is inevitable that men should demand them. It would be absurd to deny that the practice of prayer presents some genuine problems to the intellect. I do not attempt to deal with them here. It must be sufficient to suggest that the difficulties raised are certainly less formidable than they were a generation ago, now that scientific inquiry is more conscious of the boundaries which limit the range of its conclusions; and even if they were greater than in fact they are, they could scarcely avail to disturb the secure position which prayer holds in human life: a position established by its venerable history; by the fact that, speaking generally, in all ages down to our own day, the men and women who have made the greatest

contributions to human welfare, in all fields of energy, whether of action or of thought, have found in prayer their source of spiritual strength; by the fact, above all, that to Him who is acknowledged, even by those who cannot confess His Divinity, to be the supreme spiritual guide and teacher of the race, prayer was not only a constant habit, but the very atmosphere in which He lived.

II. But most of us are troubled, not so much with intellectual perplexities as with practical difficulties. Let me, therefore, pass on to say a word about these.

We must remember, then, that in our devotional life, method is of considerable importance. We shall be helped by having stated times, regular habits, and fixed forms of prayer. Our prayer, indeed, will not be confined within these limits. We shall know the value of ejaculatory prayer on any occasion, and we shall aim at attaining a constant attitude of prayer. Nor shall we be restricted to forms of prayer. Manuals of devotion certainly have their usefulness, but at best they are crutches for our infirmity; and at worst they are fetters that hinder all spontaneity, and expose us to the danger of formalism. We shall use a wise liberty about the expression of our devotions; and, above all, we shall remember that our prayers must grow in fulness and variety, as our circumstances alter, our responsibilities increase, and our spiritual life develops. But, for almost all of us, it would be unsafe to neglect fixed forms and stated opportunities altogether. We shall settle the amount of time that can be given to prayer, and the general matter of our prayers. We shall have our scheme of intercessions, arranged perhaps according to the days of the week, and we shall take pains to revise and supplement them from time to time. We shall see that praise and thanksgiving have their proper place, as well as personal petition and intercession. Devotional rules should not be so rigid as to become a burden, or induce scrupulousness; nor should they be so slender as to be useless. Their purpose is to protect us against ourselves. We are easily affected by moods and circumstances. A fixed rule helps us to disregard the feelings of the moment, and to be faithful in devotion when it seems uncongenial.

To acquire good habits of prayer is of real importance. But to pray well means more than that. We all know the difficulty of reverent attention, of realising the presence of God. Perhaps we shall never completely overcome the hindrance of distracted and wandering thoughts. But we may do something to correct them. We can try to secure a quiet place, a quiet mind, and a quiet time. The writer of the Apocalypse seems exactly to describe these conditions, when he tells us that he was "in the isle that is called Patmos, in the Spirit, on the Lord's Day." We may find these circumstances in our own room, or in the silence of the church, or out of doors. But in any case we must do our best to secure that we shall be free from outward interruptions, and to clear our minds of thoughts that bring worry and anxiety.

We think of our Lord in Gethsemane, and we seem to see there the perfect conditions of reverent prayer. He is in a peaceful place, which He was accustomed to use for retirement. He is alone. He is fortified, indeed, by the near companionship of His friends, but in His actual prayer He is in solitude, and in a bodily attitude of reverent devotion. A posture of outward reverence not only enlists the body in our act of devotion, but disposes the soul to recollectedness. We know the value of the closed eyes, the bowed head, the bended knees, the holy sign upon the breast, the folded hands. And He is engaged in hard work. He is bringing His need before the Father with concentrated intention: He is in an agony: for prayer demands the best energy of all our faculties; mind and heart and will are each engaged, and need to be fresh and vigorous. To pray at the beginning and close of the day is natural and right. But it would be well to secure some other opportunity besides, for we can scarcely expect to be most ready for devotion in the hurried moments upon first rising, or when we are tired out by the duties of the day.

Prayer, we have said, is a natural instinct, but the Incarnation has raised it to an altogether different level. The value of prayer varies both with the conception we possess of the character of God, and with the condition of our own spiritual life. Now, in Christ, we have not only the perfect revelation of the divine character, but the perfect presentment of the true relation between man and God. In the long drama of human history we see man continually seeking after God if haply he may find Him; and God gradually drawing nearer to His people, till at length the movement culminates in the Incarnation, in which God and man are united in the Person of the Incarnate Son. So has Christ opened for every man a road to the Father's heart; so by the indwelling Spirit of Christ can each one of us possess that freedom of access, by which, as on a Jacob's ladder, the spiritual commerce between Heaven and earth is maintained. Prayer is no longer a natural impulse, but a supernatural activity; it is by the grace of the Holy Spirit in our hearts that we cry "Abba Father"; that Spirit "which helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession with groanings that cannot be uttered."

III. We see, then, that to those who are in Christ Jesus, prayer has become a new experience. But if the Incarnation has thus enriched and transformed the approach of the soul to God, even more gloriously has it opened the road by which God draws near to man, through the Sacraments of His grace.

And, in particular, we think to-day of the Holy Communion. The Blessed Sacrament is the greatest instrument which the Holy Spirit uses for our sanctification. There are three moments in the activities of the Incarnate Lord which may express to us the secret of His redemptive work: Bethlehem; Calvary, with its fulfilment at the Ascension; and Pentecost. At Bethlehem is revealed to us the presence of God under the form of humanity: "the Word was

made flesh and dwelt among us." On Calvary is offered the "full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," to be presented for ever by His glorified Person in the heavenly places. And at Pentecost the life manifested in the Crib, and offered on the Cross, is bestowed upon us by the Spirit sent from Heaven. "When He ascended up on high, He gave gifts unto men." Here are the central truths of our redemption, and here are the essential facts of the Blessed Sacrament. The presence of our Lord, God and Man, under the forms of bread and wine; the Sacrifice ever presented in the heavenly courts, and pleaded continually upon the altars of the Church: the gift of His own life-giving Body and Blood, ministered through the power of the Spirit to the faithful—Bethlehem, Calvary, Pentecost, are renewed in the consummation of that great action of grace.

But this gift requires on our part a right disposition. St. Paul is sufficiently emphatic and explicit as to the need of preparation for the Gift. The preparation is two-fold: there is the preparation of discipline, and the preparation of devotion. That is to say, there are certain outward conditions required by the Church, and certain inward dispositions demanded by love.

1. Among the disciplinary requirements, we remember that those who approach the Altar (i) must be baptised and confirmed; or, if not confirmed, at least be ready and desirous so to be; (ii) must heartily and sincerely accept the faith of the Church, as formulated in her primitive Creeds; and (iii) must observe the ancient and universal custom of the fast before Communion. I place this here, as a matter of discipline, though it might also be considered as a method of devotion, by which we give to the body its opportunity of reverent preparation for the coming Guest. The rule concerning the fast is as authoritative and stringent as any ecclesiastical rule can be. But it is an ecclesiastical rule, and not a directly divine command. It lies, therefore, within the power of ecclesiastical authority to grant dispensation from it, on due occasion, and for sufficient cause, and through proper channels. Under our present conditions, the difficulties with regard to such dispensation are very serious: some would say that they are insurmountable, and that no power of dispensation from this rule is available for us. At any rate, there can be no question that dispensation cannot rightly be given by the individual communicant to himself; and we do well to bear in mind Bishop Jeremy Taylor's saying that he who disregards this rule "shows only the signs of an evil mind."

2. Under the preparation of devotion, repentance must first be named. The plain and repeated declarations of the Prayer Book as to the benefit of absolution give no excuse for the neglect of the Sacrament of Penance by those who need it. The doctrine of the Church of England with regard to confession and absolution was, of course, not affected by the great disturbances of the sixteenth century. But at the Reformation the Church of England did deliberately modify the disciplinary use of the Sacrament of Penance.

The decision as to its necessity, except where public notorious sin is in question, is left to the conscience and discretion of the penitent. But the fact that the Prayer Book so strongly deplores the disuse of the primitive system of open penance, would seem to emphasise the obligation of a conscientious use of private confession. Among the many blessings of the Catholic Revival, there are few for which we have more cause to be thankful than the deepened sense of the gravity of sin, and the extended use of the Sacrament of Penance. In this connection I would enter a strong plea that in churches where confessions are heard, there should be stated times at which this opportunity is given, and that announcement of the fact should be plainly and publicly made; and that notices, whether on the church boards, in parish magazines, or from the pulpit, should state explicitly where and when confessions may be made; and that under normal circumstances they should be heard in the open church. There are many who, through nervousness, or the uncertainty of their engagements, or the unexpected opportunity of a brief visit to a strange parish, or other cause, find it difficult or impossible to make a special appointment. Such persons have a right to know that at stated times a priest will be found in the church, ready to minister to them—in the church, and not in some secluded room or vestry; while the public announcement of the fact, and the sight of the church being so used, will familiarise people with the knowledge that Absolution is part of the normal discipline of the Church.

Besides repentance, in preparation for Communion, we need spiritual desire. We cannot exaggerate the possibilities for sanctification which lie in the power of one good and loving Communion. And yet, though for many of us the number of Communions we have received is past our reckoning, how little advance we have made in the spiritual life! Are our expectations large enough? The fountain of Divine grace is inexhaustible; but perhaps we can only receive according to the measure of the vessel which we bring. "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it." "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst, for they shall be filled."

Besides repentance and expectation, there must be resolve. We bring to each Communion our special intention. We make after each Communion our careful thanksgiving, and seek to develop in ourselves the special grace which we have desired.

IV. Finally, let me attempt to indicate some directions in which the life of prayer and communion has been enriched by the recovery of full Catholic doctrine and practice amongst ourselves.

1. One direct result of the Oxford Movement is to be found in the growing number of churches in which the Daily Offices are regularly said, and which are open all day for private prayer. There are still too many of which this cannot be said, but the spread of a better feeling is gradually reducing their number.

The recognition of prayer for the faithful departed in the public services of the Church is now secured. Requiem Masses, Vespers

for the Dead, and other commemorations, have become general; and no revision of the Book of Common Prayer would be satisfactory, nor could be accepted, which did not make full and explicit provision for these requirements.

The development of the Religious life in recent years, besides its many other blessings, has had its part in emphasising the Catholic conception of prayer as a positive work of the highest value to the spiritual life of the Church. The contemplative is not one who lives in idle ease, to the selfish neglect of social obligations, but one who has received a vocation to a life of special privilege, and is making a valuable contribution to the needs of the Church and the world. There are also not a few who, though they have not received the vocation to the Religious life, feel called to give a large portion of their time to prayer, under a special dedication of themselves to God; and are thus making, in their hidden lives of devotion, a contribution to the spiritual power of the Church, at least as great as those engaged in more active work.

The recovery of the Religious life in the Church of England during the last fifty years or so, has been for the most part in the direction of the Active Orders. While there are not wanting evidences that Contemplative Communities will establish themselves amongst us, there are probably Religious Communities engaged in active work, which could profitably give opportunity to a few of their members to adopt the strictly contemplative life, without the distraction of external claims. There is also a real need for the inclusion in the organisation of many parishes, of some small House of Prayer, where one or more devout persons may serve our Lord and the spiritual needs of His people, by a life of seclusion and devotion.

Akin to this is the growth amongst us of the mystical side of Christian experience. Mysticism is, of course, not peculiar to Christianity; it has exhibited itself in almost every religious society. And Christian mysticism has flourished both within and without the borders of the Catholic Church. But it cannot safely prosper except under the security of Catholic discipline. It may easily develop an unhealthy subjective emotionalism which disregards and despises ordered system and institutional forms; it may assume a superiority to the common Christian life, and tend to produce a spiritual aristocracy. "It is clear," says Bishop Chandler, "that mysticism flourishes best when two conditions are fulfilled. First, it requires a strong framework of institutional religion, including Creeds and Sacraments, to save it from evaporating into a nebulous sort of cosmic emotion. And, secondly, it needs space and freedom for its growth and expansion: it is apt to be oppressed by an over-elaboration of external observances, and by an exaggerated exercise of authority." And he goes on to add: "The Anglo-Catholic Church which—in its ideal, at any rate—is dignified without being theatrical, and definite without being despotic, ought therefore to be an admirable seed-plot for the growth of mystical religion."

2. With regard to Communion, the results of the revival of Catholic principles are still more impressive.

There are comparatively few churches in England to-day in which the Holy Communion is not celebrated at an early hour, at least every Sunday; a rapidly growing number presents the Mass as the principal service of the day, with accompaniments of full Catholic ceremonial; though the most convenient hour for this service may well vary according to the conditions of the particular parish. Even where the service has not actually been given its due position of dignity on Sunday, there is an almost universal acknowledgment, in theory at least, that the Lord's Service is the chief observance of the Lord's Day.

This has resulted in the recognition that children have a right to take their part in the offering of the supreme act of worship; and that those who for whatever reason are not intending to receive the Blessed Sacrament at the time, may have their share in the pleading of the Holy Sacrifice. "If we receive," it has been said, "as often as we ought, we may be present without receiving as often as we wish."

It would be impossible to exaggerate the difference which these changes have made in the place which the Blessed Sacrament has come to hold in the regard and veneration of English Churchmen; and not least in the religious training of the young.

There are few towns of any size in England to-day, in which one church at least will not be found with a daily Mass. It will, we hope, not be very long before the same can be said of country parishes; while the growth, on the part of the faithful, of frequent and even daily communion, is a strong testimony to the deepening of the devotional life.

The privilege of the Reserved Sacrament is becoming more and more general. The experiences of the war emphasised the need for such provision amongst our soldiers and sailors. But in normal times there are always some who are hindered by sickness, or hours of work, or other circumstances, from making use of the appointed hours of service. The needs of such can, in many cases, only satisfactorily be met by Communion from the Reserved Sacrament.

I must come to a close. I am conscious that there are large portions of my subject with which I have not attempted to deal. In particular, I have scarcely made reference to the higher experiences and more advanced stages of prayer, with which we are familiar in the lives of the Saints, and which are, indeed, open to all Christians. This curtailment is rendered necessary, not more by the limits of my time than by the limitations of my own experience. But perhaps for the special purposes of our Congress it may be more useful to have dealt with the elementary aspects of the devotional life.

The prospects for religion in England may at times cause us anxiety. There is a growing disposition to throw aside both the dogmatic requirements and the moral standards of the Gospel of

Jesus Christ. And the Catholic cause in the Church of England has its own serious conflicts and uncertainties; while there are not wanting candid critics who tell us that the force of the Catholic revival is spent. But of one thing we in this Congress are persuaded. The progress of Catholic principles in the last hundred years has been due, under God's grace, to many causes, but to none more than to the fact that men have seen in the movement the expression of personal religion and devotion to our Lord. In that same strength its further victories will yet be won. And there is no single one of us who cannot make his contribution to that cause; and in his own life of earnest prayer and devout communion exalt the honour of our Lord and advance the triumph of His Church.

VII

PERSONAL RELIGION

B. MEDITATION AND MYSTICISM

By G. C. Rawlinson

In what is perhaps the most illuminating and helpful chapter of theological writing that has appeared in this generation—the second chapter in the first volume of Baron F. von Hügel's *The Mystical Element in Religion*—it is pointed out that all religion should consist of three elements: the institutional, the speculative, and the mystical or experimental. Should any one of these be missing, either in the religion of a body or in the religion of an individual, there will be something lacking which entails a real loss. Yet how rare the combination of all three is in any one individual, our knowledge either of history or of the religious personalities of our own day will tell us. Among contemporary figures whose work shows the vivifying presence of the three elements, are Baron von Hügel himself, and that striking mind and personality—the gap made by whose loss we must all be specially feeling this week—the late John Neville Figgis. To this many-sidedness is due the great influence, intellectual and spiritual, which these men have exercised. Probably no one would deny, however, that the course of the Catholic revival in this country has been mainly—I should also say, necessarily—characterised by a strong insistence on the institutional element. There was, and still is, in English religion, a tendency to thrust it into the background; and this tendency has been fostered by that continental Protestant influence which has been so powerful, pervading, and disastrous an influence both in our universities and in much popular religious thought. Nevertheless, we suffer if the other elements are obscured, and, whether justly or not, I do not think we can deny that we have come under the charge of laying an exaggerated stress on the institutional, to the detriment of the intellectual and the mystical. This afternoon's session, dealing with personal religion, is intended obviously to correct such a tendency, and to give the mystical element its own prominence as a necessary and healthy element in our spiritual life.

I

The aim of the mystic is union with God. He sets this before himself as the end of all his religious discipline and all his religious

practices. He asserts, moreover, that he obtains it; that there are golden moments when he experiences the bliss of union with the Divine, and thus enjoys a foretaste of Heaven itself. He does not argue about it and he cannot describe it. He simply says that he has had a certain experience, and others must take his word for it or leave it. If such testimony were a rare thing and confined to only a few souls, we should naturally be inclined to disbelieve it or to regard the experience as utterly abnormal. But the evidence of the mystics is unanimous here. There is a great cloud of witness which can only, I think, be disregarded by those who make light of all religious experience. Why, indeed, should we doubt the possibility of such union? There is, within the experience of all of us, a union of souls in the emotions of friendship and love. We understand these because we have felt them ourselves. In such cases there is a union which is a reality, though we may find it difficult to explain or to define. The friend or the lover knows, however, that such union is a fact, and he will not listen with patience to the cynic who denies it. Now the mystic speaks in similar language. He has reached his knowledge of union as a fact in the same way; not, that is, as the conclusion of an argument, but as the result of an experience. Indeed, he often uses the language of human love as providing the best symbols by which to express this rich and vivid emotion. In human love people have often believed in some kind of affinity between souls. Falling in love seems to imply that certain souls fly instinctively to each other through some inward attraction. The mystic would say more: that there is, in addition to this affinity between human souls, a natural affinity between the human soul and the Divine, and he would make his own the well-known words of St. Augustine: *Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.* In a word, the mystic is one who has fallen in love with God, and ever after the world appears different. George Meredith, in a wonderful passage on human love, speaks of "love's electric messenger" rushing "from heart to heart, knocking at each, till it surged tumultuously against the bars of its prison, crying out for its mate." And describing the after-emotions, he says: "But it was no more the world of yesterday. The marvellous splendours had sown seeds in him, ready to spring up and bloom at her gaze; and in his bosom now the vivid conjuration of her tones, her face, her shape, makes them leap and illumine him like fitful summer lightnings—ghosts of the vanished sun." It would need the change of few words to transform that passage into one very like what many of the mystics have used.

We are here, it cannot be denied, in a totally different circle of ideas from that which surrounds the life of the average Christian. He walks in it at first with some uneasiness and suspicion, as in a strange land. Can we explain this doctrine of mystical attraction in the terms of modern psychology? It is tempting to try, but

would almost certainly be unwise in the present changing state of that science. It may be that beneath the surface—and, remember, a notable tendency of modern psychology is to emphasise the existence of the unconscious soul—souls enjoy a closer union than is commonly supposed. It was the late William James, I think, who suggested that we may be like the trees of a forest, separate above the surface, but with their roots commingled below. Others may be captivated by the unanimistic theories of M. Jules Romains, the French poet, founded on the belief in a group-soul; a theory which, however, has an older history, and at one time had some attraction for the restless mind of George Tyrrell; a belief, that is, "that our several souls are not like so many grains of corn, wholly separate and mutually exclusive, but are rather like the distinct and individuated fingers of the same hand meeting in it, and with it forming one thing." These are, perhaps, fruitless speculations, possibly perilous ones. But that there is something which can be best described by the word "union" is a fact, both between human beings and between man and God. The latter is the mystical fact. And, it must be remembered, the evidence for the fact comes, not mainly from unbalanced and neurotic men and women, but from men and women who were obviously sane, sound-minded, and level-headed. The attempt to prove that the mystics, as a class, were abnormal persons has failed. It can only be done by begging the question at issue. But, if the experience is genuine, it follows that we are offered for our inner life not merely a monotonous round of pedestrian duties, but a wildly exciting spiritual adventure. It is this fact that is the root of all religion and that is the secret of spiritual strength. M. Emile Durkheim, the French sociologist, has pointed out that the origin of religion is not to be found in thought; not, that is, in intellectual curiosity puzzling out the explanation of things, but in an experience which men have of a force which dominates them, but at the same time sustains them and raises them above themselves. A philosophy is born in an atmosphere of quiet meditation; but a faith is, beyond all else, warmth, life, enthusiasm, exaltation; and these, he thinks, only spring from men assembled in groups. We shall not agree entirely with M. Durkheim here, but we shall carry off some of his honey to our hive, finding our explanation, however, of that experience of strength and power, not in social psychology, but in the conviction of a realised union with the Divine.

II

But how is this union to be obtained? What is the road by which it is reached? The answer is quite clear, and there is no disagreement among mystics on this point at least. It is by mental prayer, and especially, at first, by that kind of mental prayer which we call

meditation. Let us try to keep quite close to experience. It is a matter of observation that, as Marcus Aurelius said, our souls are dyed the colour of our thoughts. There are possibly still some who believe that it does not much matter what a man thinks, and that his silent moments have little or nothing to do with the development of his character. But these are growing less and less. The importance of meditation is generally recognised, and there are few who would gainsay the wisdom of St. Paul's advice: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." The mind must first of all be set to work. Much has been learned of recent years of the power of suggestion. It is probably not too much to say that this is the secret of the influence of many preachers and many political orators. Certainly very few of us form our opinions apart from the strong suggestive influence of our surroundings, our friends, and our teachers. If we are wise we shall be careful with regard to the influences to which we expose ourselves. Knowing, too, the power of auto-suggestion, we shall use it wisely in the development of our spiritual life. Now, Christian mysticism springs from concrete facts, and at the beginning of the mystic's flight to God there is deep and continued meditation on the concrete facts of our Lord's earthly life. It is not by chance that the three synoptic gospels precede the Fourth Gospel, which is so deeply mystical in tone. In the experience of the first generation of Christians, the facts of our Lord's life came first. There was a hungry desire, it seems, to know what happened, and ever to know more of what our Lord said and did in Galilee and Jerusalem. We can imagine little rolls containing, one a few parables, another the record of a few miracles, another an eye-witness's report of the Passion, being passed from hand to hand in common lodging-houses in Corinth or in Rome. So, in answer to this demand, there came into being the three synoptic gospels, giving the facts, the words of our Lord, but as yet only slightly penetrated by the mystical spirit and interpretation. Later, as the result of profound meditation on the spiritual significance of the concrete facts, came the Fourth Gospel, penetrated through and through by the great mystical ideas of light, love, and eternal life. The danger that attends all mysticism is to ignore or belittle the importance of historical facts, and wherever it does this it is not, or it ceases to be, Christian. Christianity is the religion of the Incarnation, and a sound Christian mysticism will always remember this and found itself on those facts. The sacraments, of course, are essential parts and forces of it. The Fourth Gospel, indeed, is saturated with this sacramental mysticism. Or take another example. Probably no book has had a larger share in the cultivation of the spiritual life of Catholics in the last three hundred years than the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola. It is hard, for instance,

to imagine a retreat that is not founded in some way or other on this wonderful book. In it, after, through the exercises of the first week, perfect intellectual clearness as to the end of life has been obtained, and the soul has recognised the true nature of sin, it must go on in the second week to contemplate Christ. By this Ignatius means that we are to keep before us the facts and mysteries of the life of Christ, and it is only from this base that further advance in the spiritual ascent can be safely attempted. No doubt he was writing out of his personal experience. The lonely crippled soldier in the castle of Loyola, through long pondering over the facts of the earthly life of Christ, was able to rise to the ineffable joys of mystical union. What the soul gains here is the realisation of the tireless love of Jesus Christ. It was this experience that inspired such a poem as Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven*, with its marvellous image of " those strong feet which followed," and could make a modern Jesuit, the late Father William Doyle, write such words as these: " What you say is indeed true. Jesus has been ' hunting ' me during these past days, trying to wound my heart with His arrows of love. He has been so gentle, so patient, tender, loving, I do not know at times where to turn, and yet I somehow feel that much of this grace is given me for others. I long to get back to my little room at night, to calm and quiet, and yet I dread it, for He is often so loving there. I feel He is near because I cannot go to Him in the Tabernacle. It is such a helpless feeling to be tossed about as it were on the waves of love, to feel the ardent, burning love of His heart, to know He asks for love, and then to realise one human heart is so tiny." There speaks the true Christian mystic.

III

Would it be true, then, to say that meditation is sufficient for those who wish to advance along the road to union? Possibly. At any rate there are some who would discourage anything else, pointing out that it has proved sufficient for many heroic souls. To men like these the dangers that undoubtedly attend the practice of the higher forms of prayer—the danger of heresy, the danger of self-deception—are so threatening that they would almost regard with pity a soul who was called to them. True calls of this nature they would look upon as very rare, and only to be followed with the most meticulous precautions. I doubt if this is in the best mystical tradition. There may be more souls than we think who are called to leave the well-trodden road and to adventure on the more difficult, even if the more perilous, paths. There is nothing, I believe, to prevent souls who have followed the purgative way, who are anxiously trying, day and night, to die to self, from aspiring to the simpler forms of contemplative prayer. I mean such forms as affective prayer; the practice of the Presence of

God, and the prayer of quiet. Of course, the practice of meditation and the practice of vocal prayer should never be despised. Vocal prayer, at any rate, should never be abandoned. But there are some souls who will be better helped by the use of a more formless prayer. Perhaps we have not recognised this enough. We are not met in this Congress merely to blow our own trumpet, and it may be seriously asked whether a grave weakness of the Catholic revival amongst ourselves has not been a failure to lead souls on to the higher forms of prayer and a failure to produce vocations to the contemplative life. We have been satisfied with a high type of unmystical piety. It is likely enough that among the poor, especially, there may be many who could be led on to some kind of contemplation, and who would find far more happiness and satisfaction in that than in more formal prayer. The same may be true of those whom, in our elderly and civilised pride, we patronisingly call the child-races. I have made careful inquiries of those who work among the natives of Central Africa and among the coloured people of the West Indies, and there seems to be ground for believing that they, while quite unable to meditate in the Ignatian manner, may nevertheless be able to reach a very high type of mystical devotion. When you find a wholly uneducated coloured man—I am not quoting an imaginary case—saying quite simply that he is perfectly happy during his lonely day of work in the fields because he prays to God all the time, it reminds one of Brother Lawrence in his kitchen, and one may be sure beyond all doubt that he has attained to some kind of contemplative prayer. The spirit bloweth where it listeth and not only among the leisured middle classes. Certainly such tendencies need to be tested, and the test will be to examine the dispositions of the soul after such prayer of quiet. Is it less self-occupied, more ready for work, more willing to suffer obscurity or to undergo humiliation? Then the prayer is genuine. Or is it, on the other hand, more distracted, more eager for notice, less ready for hardship or desolation? Then the prayer is false.

I think there is little doubt that a battle lies before us. Perhaps the minor peace of the Catholic party is ending. And in that conflict the theologians and the men of action upon whose patience, wisdom, and tenacity so much will depend, and upon whose figures the eyes of the Church and the world will be fixed, will occupy the foreground. But alone they will not suffice. In the background we need an army of contemplatives generating spiritual power, if I may take a metaphor from modern science. The late Dr. Bigg declared that the world needs reservoirs of spiritual force, and certainly it is by possessing such reservoirs as these that a religious movement can hope to be successful. How much, for instance, of the commanding spiritual influence of Port Royal in the seventeenth century in France was due to the controversial writings of Arnauld and Pascal, and how much to the steady volume of prayer that came from the small band of devoted laymen behind them?

The Englishman generally has little but scorn for lives spent in prayer. He tolerates religious orders in proportion to their activity. But let part of our ideal, at least, be a great increase in the number of those who practise contemplative prayer. And let us not forget this need in our intercessions.

VII

PERSONAL RELIGION

C. RETREATS

By J. F. Briscoe

I

THE SPIRIT OF A RETREAT

"I HAVE come away from the world that I may be alone with God."

That is the spirit of every good retreat.

I have come away from the world. I have left behind the ordinary occupations of my life, my home, my family, my business, my recreations. I have withdrawn myself from all ordinary activities, from every exterior responsibility. I am here apart in this unfamiliar place, in these strange surroundings, in this new environment—silent, separate, alone, conscious only of myself. For the moment it is as if I were dead. I am away from the world; and the world is getting on without me very well.

I am here in retreat for a great purpose. I am here "to make my soul."

I am here for the greatest of all adventures. I am searching for God.

I am facing the most tremendous of all possibilities. I have no idea what God may say to me, to what God may call me; yet already I am bracing my will to listen and to obey at any cost.

Such is the spirit of a good retreat.

We see at once what are the conditions which a retreat requires. You cannot easily make a retreat at home. It is practically impossible at home to be free from interruption; and to make a retreat well you must be able to count on not being disturbed. At home your surroundings will inevitably tend to distract you: for a retreat you should be in surroundings which themselves help you by their simplicity and order, and by their independence of your own arrangement. And you must keep silence. The stillness of the lips is the guard of the silence of the heart. It will be useless, of course, to abstain from talking unless also you keep your mind free from worldly thoughts; the mind must be detached, at rest, unembarrassed; yet alert, receptive, expectant. It is only in such a hush that the voice of God can be heard.

You must give yourself some margin of time. A retreat may not be hurried. Sometimes you have to do the best you can in a

single day; but in so few hours you can scarcely win the characteristic blessing of a retreat. Three whole days is the least time in which to make a retreat which we may hope to be thorough and complete.

"I have come away from the world that I may be alone with God."

It is not that God is ever distant from us. Nothing can bring Him closer to us than He is at all times. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." But often, though always we are present to Him, He is not present to us. In the rush and pressure of life, in the eager stress of pleasure and work, we forget; our eyes are blind for the vision, our ears are deaf for the heavenly voice. Our retreat is a return to the recollection of the presence of God.

We remember afresh the great realities. The world of cricket and meals and money and roses is not the world that matters most; the world of exterior things is swiftly passing away, transitory, precarious, fragile, evanescent; all is under the inevitable sentence of death and decay.

"Life devoted only to life is animal, without any real human value, incapable of preserving men permanently from weariness and the feeling that all is vanity." I am quoting Mr. Bertrand Russell. He goes on: "If life is to be fully human it must serve some end which seems, in some sense, outside human life, some end which is impersonal and above mankind, such as God or truth or beauty. Those who best promote life do not have life for their purpose. They aim rather at what seems like a gradual incarnation, a bringing into our human existence of something eternal, something that appears to imagination to live in a heaven remote from strife and failure and the devouring jaws of Time. Contact with this eternal world, even if it be only a world of our imagining, brings a strength and a fundamental peace which cannot be wholly destroyed by the struggles and apparent failures of our temporal life."[1] Apart from religion, there is nothing to keep us from despair; but while Mr. Russell considers religion to be only the invention of human weakness, we know that religion stands for the most certain of all facts.

The world that matters most is the world of eternity, where God lives, and Jesus in the Holy Sacrament, and Mary, and the angels, and the saints. That is the world which really matters, the world which stands calm and secure.

> The One remains, the many change and pass;
> Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
> Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
> Stains the white radiance of Eternity.[2]

In the silence of our retreat we realise this afresh. We ponder;

[1] *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, p. 245.
[2] Shelley.

we consider; we think; we adjust our valuations; we set our standard true; we reassert strongly, strenuously, slowly, again and again, what we always know, intellectually, to be the truth about life and death and God.

"I have come away from the world that I may be alone with God."

Not only because I want God, but because God wants me.

I have learnt enough of my religion to be sure that I ought not to think of God as a splendid, distant despot, cold and glittering, self-sufficient in the sense that He has no care for, and no need of me. God is like the shepherd who follows after the one missing sheep, over hill and dale, until at last the sheep is found; God is like the poor woman to whom the silver piece is so precious, that when it is lost, here she is taking the candle and searching every corner with diligence which only ceases when she sees the silver piece again; God is like the heavenly Hound who pursues and pursues until at last the quarry is run down. God is eagerly searching for me; He is longing for what only I can give Him.

> He courts our love with infinite esteem,
> And seeks it so that it doth almost seem
> Even all His blessedness. His love doth prize
> It as the only Sacrifice.[1]

I make my retreat with the desire to respond to the call of the love of God.

II

THE PROCESS OF A RETREAT

A retreat should always follow an ordered process. It is a course, a treatment for the soul. These are preliminaries and developments leading on to a definite result. All goes forward to a climax.

First must come the renewal of our conversion to God. Nothing can take the place of this, and without it all the time spent in retreat is wasted.

I realise afresh God my Maker, His unlimited claim on me; His claim which I may not question or limit or deny, but which I must accept as the one reasonable law for my life. I consider God's rights over me, rights which are absolute and unbounded, rights which press on me at every turn, rights to which I must humbly and gladly submit.

Then I consider my relation to the creatures of God—my husband, my wife, my children, my friends; I review my use of my capacities of mind and body, my possessions, my influence. I remember that all I have and am comes to me by the gift of God, and so always I ought to see the Giver in the gift, and use what I have received for the glory of God and the salvation of my soul.

[1] Thomas Traherne.

When I remember in the silence of my retreat the immense and all-embracing claim of God, at once I am stricken with sorrow and remorse, for I see in lurid contrast with God's claim and plan for me, the failure and baseness which, in fact, have marked my life. Often I have failed through weakness; sometimes I have deliberately set myself to do what I knew quite well was wrong.

So early in the retreat I go to confession. Later on in the retreat I perhaps will go to confession again; but I go now, as soon as I have had time to make my self-examination, to say simply and candidly to the priest what I have immediately on my conscience, in what ways I have failed most conspicuously in my response to the call and claim of God.

We enter on the main work of our retreat when our reconversion to God has been made. By a definite act of our whole will we have accepted as just the divine condemnation of sin; we have owned up to our sins; we have said they were our own, and yet we have desired to cast them from us; we have sought to identify ourselves altogether with the divine law of holiness. That is the meaning of our confession; and the absolution we receive from the priest is the assurance and the security of our complete forgiveness. Penitent still, yet happy and free, we go on to the contemplation of Jesus Christ. It is as if the scenes of the Gospel were renewed to-day. In our prayer we find ourselves in the Master's company. We are looking up into His face; we see His smile; we hear His voice. He is our teacher. In the quiet chapel where the lamp shines to hail His sacramental presence, no less in the garden, in our little cell, we know that He is with us all the time. It is not perhaps that anything very new is added to our knowledge, but the atmosphere of the retreat is telling on our soul. We are growing and changing; what is evil in us is weakening and falling away; what is good in us is strengthening and thriving and taking deeper root. We are being transformed. "In the light of the King's countenance is life"; the flowers open in the sunshine, so at the Saviour's feet our poor souls blossom and grow.

The third phase of our retreat is the result and crown of all that has gone before. We are converted afresh; we have won anew companionship with Jesus; He has given us truer knowledge of ourselves and of our duty; now there must be the great resolve into which are to crystallise all the aspirations of this holy time. Not a general resolve to be better, but a particular and definite resolve. The "free time" in a retreat is always of capital importance. We ought to use it as the opportunity for making a thorough examination of our conscience, for a careful sifting of the aims and tendencies of our whole life, for gaining an accurate view of the perils and opportunities of the future. As a result of these considerations, with the special help of the Holy Spirit, we should set ourselves to formulate our resolution.

Perhaps it will be that we offer ourselves for the work of the foreign missions of the Church, or for the service of God in religion;

perhaps it will be that we pledge ourselves to the correction of a particular fault, or the cultivation of a special virtue; perhaps it will be that we promise our Lord to be apostles for Him among those with whom we live. The detail of the resolution must be fixed by each individual, but in every retreat a plain resolution of some sort should be made by each and all.

It is the most delightful experience of my life to give Communion at the end of retreats. I have seen them, priests who were utterly discouraged, men and women quite away from God, lads and girls whose lives were all in a tangle. But that was three or four days ago. Now in a long row, often with tears in their eyes, they wait, happy and calm, for me to set the Body of Christ upon their lips. I know that the peace which is shining in their faces is no peace of this world, but the peace beyond all understanding which is the gift of God. I know that from the house of retreat they will go, true bearers of Christ, true missionaries of the gospel, true apostles of the Faith, carrying to others the light and the joy they have found for themselves.

III

PRACTICAL NOTES

I end with some practical notes.

It is very important that we should look upon a retreat as a very serious and solemn undertaking. Our own annual retreat is among the most momentous engagements of the year. A retreat is not a holiday or a rest-cure: it is a devotional exercise calling for effort, earnestness, and generosity in the highest degree. A retreat involves a challenge to God and a challenge to ourselves; so we may never enter on it lightly. A retreat is not attendance at a series of Bible Classes, or a course of sermons: the work of the conductor who directs and suggests is altogether subsidiary to the work we do ourselves. We might make an excellent retreat with no conductor except the Holy Spirit speaking in our heart.

Unless we are prepared at least to consider seriously the call of God to lead a religious life, a retreat will do us more harm than good. We must resist the temptation to try to win for retreats a cheap popularity. The retreat-movement is still on its trial in England. We help it forward by proclaiming the blessing of a really good retreat; but we should carefully guard the name from misunderstanding and abuse. We must insist that a retreat cannot be made in three hours of a Saturday afternoon. We must firmly denounce all attempts to push the feminist propaganda under the specious plea of providing "quiet days for women."

With regard to the devotions of a retreat, there is increasing agreement that the conductor should give material for two careful meditations each day; he will speak for perhaps half an hour; then he will ask the retreatants to spend at least as long in turning

into prayer the points of his address. Every day it will be well if the conductor provides a conference or instruction; he may use this opportunity to give help for an examination of conscience under various heads, such as our duty towards God, or our practice of prayer.

I have lately been in America, and it was delightful to find in New York that the bishops made no restrictions as to extra-liturgical devotions to the Holy Sacrament. I am sure it would give us just the conclusion we need for our devotions in retreat, if we might have permission to end each day with Benediction, and the last day with an hour of prayer before the Holy Sacrament exposed. In that way we should link our evening prayers with the Communion we made in the morning, and the Communion we hope to make to-morrow.

We are all agreed as to the need of retreats. In 1846 Mr. Butler wrote to Mr. Keble that he knew no other way by which priests might be made holy. There is no other way to-day.

Visions of glory and hope are filling our hearts; there is nothing that will give them substance so surely as the increase of retreats. We cannot do too much to help such work as centres in St. Ursula's at Hendon. There ought to be a retreat-house in every diocese. It would, indeed, be the dawning of a brighter day for English religion if all our priests brought to their work the consecration and the inspiration and the devotion won by their prayers in retreat; and if among our lay-people of every class there were a large and growing number who, in the same environment of discipline and silence, had learned to face the central facts, my God, my life, my soul.

VII

PERSONAL RELIGION

D. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

By H. P. Bull

We have been listening to papers on the development of the spiritual life that is the common possession and common privilege of us all as members of Christ. I have to speak to you of a definite form or mode of spiritual life, within the common life of the Church; a form of life which enshrines in a special development the root principles of the common Christian life, but which has a marked character of its own; a form of life which was specifically designed by our Lord in words spoken while He was on earth, and which has never been wanting in His Church, and never will be, as His Spirit through those words ever brings it forth into being in souls that seek and love Him supremely; a form of life the revival of which amongst ourselves is one of the surest tokens of that Spirit remaining among us, and of the living presence of Christ with us. The religious life is that state, or form, of life in which, obediently to the inspiration or call of God, a soul is consecrated to God in Jesus Christ under perpetual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. There are many forms of this consecration, as there are also many objects with which it is undertaken; and the Church has need of all. But strictly for the religious state, as it exists in the Catholic Church, there is required the entire and permanent surrender of self, according to some fixed and recognised rule based upon the Evangelical Counsels, that is upon the observance of a real spirit of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

I propose to ask you to consider first the idea of the religious life in the Church; then its growth and development; and lastly, its permanence, and our own need of it.

I

THE IDEA OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE CHURCH

The witness of Christ is the one constant necessary factor, at once vital and vitalising, of the life and work of the Church in the world. It is a witness not confined to any one channel, but to

be borne by every Christian in his vocation and ministry; a witness to be borne therefore in an almost infinite variety of degree and clearness. Our Lord did not require of all His disciples the same method of following Him. There were those who in His own lifetime on earth believed in Him, loved Him, served Him, welcomed Him, yet went on with their daily business; and there were those whom He called away from their business to gather round Himself for special purposes of ministry. There were those who were thus definitely called by Himself, and there were others who voluntarily, inspired by secret love, sacrificed all to follow and to minister to Him. All these He tested, and invited and encouraged to a life such as He Himself was living, and to a surrender as absolute as His own.

Thus we find Him uttering the words that are called the Evangelical Counsels, the foundation of that life of the close following of Christ which we speak of as the religious life—counsels spoken sometimes to individuals, and falling on their ears with peculiar personal directness, such as those words of eternal fruitfulness, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and come and follow me" [1]; but at other times spoken to groups and enshrined in general promises, which gave—and give—opportunity to generous souls to reach out and claim them in trustful self-oblation. Such was the great promise, "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." [2]

In the beginning, in the first dawning of the new day of the Resurrection life and faith and love—when Heaven had broken in upon earth, and eternity had laid hold of time—it seemed as if by the outpouring of the new life and of its gifts every earthly tie was broken. The following of Jesus was perfect in its simplicity, in its whole-heartedness, in its renunciation of earth and of self, and in its embrace of the risen Lord and of the new brotherhood of men. None counted the things they possessed as their own; they were of one heart and of one mind; the praise of God was their work, and the testimony of Jesus and the Resurrection their evangel. But as time went on, and the continuance of the earthly life was seen to be a necessity and a duty, an opportunity and a privilege, it was seen that amongst our Lord's words there were some that could only be appropriated, in the fulness of their meaning, by individuals who gave themselves to be ruled wholly by them, and that our Lord had, in fact, provided for a great diversity of modes of service and of devotion amongst His members. Had He not often said, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear"? Had He not said again of a saying about continence hard to flesh and blood, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it" [3]? So individual souls began to be separated off to their own special

[1] St. Matt. xix. 21. [2] St. Matt. xix. 29. [3] St. Matt. xix. 12.

calling. "Let every man abide wherein he is called,"[1] was an Apostolic ruling, but "Covet earnestly the best gifts,"[2] was an exhortation of the same Apostle. Thus if some remained in the world occupied in their lawful business, yet others would realise a call, and give themselves gladly to prayer and actual poverty; if some would seek to do the will of God in the active and unfettered enterprise of their own wills, others would seek to sacrifice the will itself in love, choosing only the will of God as it came to them in the outward circumstances of their ordered life, or through accepted superiors, perfecting humility in the God-centred life of detachment from self-pleasing and self-will.

II

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

At first souls were thus drawn inwards to our Lord singly; they lived out their lives alone, single lamps very brightly shining. Then, individuals multiplying, their life became an ordered regulated state, recognised by the Church. By and by, such individuals, drawn by the attraction of some great saint, came together in groups, partly for their own progress and safeguarding, partly and in greater measure, we see now, because the Spirit of God was leading out into a truer, completer life of fellowship; until there came at last and in natural development the gathering together of ordered communities, with a common well-defined rule and superiors appointed by a constitutional method.

This is, in barest outline, the tracing of the growth and development of the religious life as we know it. It is a consecration of Christian life within the Church; a separation of chosen souls to tread as closely as any may in the actual footsteps of our Lord upon earth; a reproduction age after age of the principles of the incarnate life in members of Christ's Body, singly, wholly, and with entire self-abandonment, seeking His glory in the world, the accomplishment of His purposes, and the coming of His kingdom.

This life, built upon a self-oblation, which is secured and guarded by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, rests upon and is maintained by the high counsels of Christ, which would be operative and effectual in the most perfect state of the Church on earth. But the form of its development in different ages, the urgency of its call, and the fruitfulness of its vigorous life, have been governed by the ever-changing circumstances of the Church in the course of her earthly history. Without the words of Christ the religious life could not be adventured, but the circumstances and needs of the Church determined its actual development.

Thus the numerical growth and extension of the Church brought

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 20. [2] 1 Cor. xii. 31.

with it a weakening of the intensity of its life, and there arose the need of a purer witness, the desire of an intenser love, and the deliberate seeking of a higher standard of sanctity. In different ages this influence of the world upon the Church is felt in varying degrees, but the reaction is in proportion to the real life of the Church. The withdrawal of ardent souls from the ordinary ways of life to consecrate themselves more perfectly to God does not mean the weakening of the Church: it means the kindling of such a flame of faith and love, and desire, as can revive the whole Church. Consecration involves separation, but consecration means that God has ready to His hand the instruments of His work and of the revelation of Himself.

Then the decay of faith called forth greater and simpler profession of faith; the abounding of sin called forth countervailing efforts of loving penitence; the growing cold of love called forth the more generous self-oblation. So the witness of Christ shone forth from the desert, from the valley, from the mountain, from the forest, from the souls that were wholly His in their solitary or their convent life.

Again, as barbarian, pagan, or heathen forces began to make themselves felt, and the Church had pressed upon her her constant missionary vocation, the need of consecrated, disciplined. regular forces for her missionary enterprises found its response in great religious orders. And it is the regular army which is the basis not only of attack but of defence. The faith of the Church had need of defence in Christian lands, as well as of propagation in non-Christian lands; and so there arose, and arise, orders for every form of missionary purpose; every work of mercy, every agency of evangelisation, every form of divine and human culture, finds its pledged religious instruments and exponents; and the witness of Christ arises from streets and alleys of crowded cities, from school, and hospital, and mission-house.

But ever in activity lurks the danger of loss of power. The Church girds herself for the succour of every human need in the name of her Lord and as part of her ministry to Him; but the immensity of the need drives her ever afresh to seek from Him new supplies of grace. Parallel to the consecration of the many to active enterprises, lies the concentration of the few upon prayer, silence, mortification, penance. In every form of religious life this is the ultimate basis of its activity, and the ultimate condition of its security. So throughout the history of the Church there have been those societies which have made this intensity of life Godwards their true activity. They die to the world and to self because they live so simply to God. They practise mortification because they glory in the Cross. They glory in the Cross because they look to Him who is at the right hand of God. What are called the Enclosed or, commonly, the Contemplative Orders, are hidden springs of life and health to the whole Church. Their spiritual power is just in proportion to the reality of their devotion. How they need the

sympathy, the support, the prayers of the whole Church to sustain them! There is no limit of effectiveness to spiritual power. It is spiritual intensity which is our—which is Christ our Lord's—true need in the Church; and it is the profession of the religious to live to God, and to die to the world and to self.

III

THE PERMANENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE AND OUR OWN NEED OF IT

The world values religious communities for their work; Christ values them for their love. It is only in the growing of faith, of personal devotion to Him, of the realisation of His needs in the world, or rather in His Church, that the religious life grows. These needs do not grow less. It is a living Christ who alone can deliver men from themselves, or draw them to Himself. And a living Christ is at last a Christ living evidently, manifestly beyond possibility of dispute, in His members. It is just because the religious life proclaims Christ so absolutely as Lord, and yields itself so wholly to be conformed to His likeness, that it is a witness of such surpassing power.

The permanence of the religious life in the Church is the simple consequence of the permanent claim Jesus makes upon His disciples, His lovers, His friends. It is their response to His claim, their response at once to His glory and to His need. Wonderful has been the revival of such faith, and worship, and love in our midst in these last seventy-nine years which have passed since Dr. Pusey professed at Oxford, Marian Hughes to live a solitary life of religion; for the first community, the Society of the Holy Trinity, was not founded until four years later in 1845 at Park Village, Regent's Park. It sprang from roots deep in the soil, and it has made its way, like all native growths, with great freedom, in unexpected places, living by its own vitality. So it sprang and ever grew in the Church from the beginning. It is not by planning, however careful, nor by gifts, however large, nor by enthusiastic resolutions by how many soever passed, much less by official legislation, that this heavenly plant is sown or grows. Care we must take—the expert gardener is the friend of the plant. Gifts must be made—for the plant must be nurtured. Enthusiasm we need—we have been too long treading the easy paths of convention, or respectability, and have called too little for sacrifice and fire of love. Official recognition we hope is on the way. But we want the recognition of the life, not of the works; we want a legislation in due course which will be more anxious to develop the plant than to tie it fast and hedge it in. The plant itself is the growth of the seed of fervent love, and personal devotion to Jesus Christ, springing up in chosen ardent souls.

Much has been done, much more remains to be done. The great

types of the religious life abide, but the Spirit of the Lord is not bound. It is our part, who have already been called of God, to be faithful to the rule and constitution received from our founders. And how we must praise Him for Dr. Pusey and Miss Hughes and Miss Sellon, for Mr. Butler of Wantage, and Mr. Upton Richards of All Saints, Margaret Street, and for the devoted women on whom those two great communities of St. Mary the Virgin and All Saints were founded, for Canon Carter and Harriet Monsell, for Dr. Neale and Miss Gream, for Father Benson and his first two companions, Father Grafton and Father O'Neil. But new forms of life will arise to meet the new needs of our Lord. If the whole body of the faithful will seek this best and most effective gift of God, will pray for it, will ardently desire it, will set it continually before our children as they grow up, the Spirit of God will assuredly be set free amongst us to move in their hearts, choosing, calling, enabling the souls that love makes capable of a perfect sacrifice.

Meanwhile we must study its true forms ; we must learn by the experience of those who in other parts of the Church have themselves been taught by experience ; we must be sure that reality of devotion, and reality of discipline of life, are the foundations on which we build. For this life, too, the very espousing of virgin souls to Christ, " is not by any to be enterprised, or taken in hand unadvisedly or lightly." Yet must none hold back to whom this vision, this call of love comes. It is of God, and we must make answer in God—and God Himself is the end of a life which His own love inspires and His grace sustains.

Intensely we need the increase of the religious life, for priests, for laymen—we have hardly begun yet,—and for women ; for example, in respect of outward activities, for the conducting and arranging of retreats, and for the welcome and help of individual souls ; for parochial missions at home, and for the extension of the Church abroad on steady continuous lines of work and devotion ; for the ministry of nursing, of education, of every form of personal service ; and in respect of inward spiritual life, for the work of prayer, and of sacred study ; for the development of spiritual power ; for the inspiration that springs from souls that have left all for Christ ; for the maintenance of the great ideals and standards of faith, and love, and worship, of purity and humility, of self-sacrifice and self-surrender ; for the manifestation in the world of a brotherhood, that, if only it be true to itself, has " love and joy and peace " as its evident life. If these and such as these are real needs to-day, then the claim of the religious life upon our prayers and our desires and our readiness to follow it is self-evident. We dare not leave anything undone which might fill this school of perfection with disciples. To aim at perfection is to do the best service of which we are capable to our neighbour as to ourselves ; to aim at perfection is to do the best service we can render to our Lord Himself. The way of religion is our Lord's own way of perfection commended to those who seek Him supremely.

God give us increasing devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ, increasing desire to make Him manifest in the world, and therefore increasing clearness and increasing fervour of faith and love towards Him. Then shall He see in us "of the travail of His soul and be satisfied." "Behold, I and the children which God hath given me"[1]; "they are for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of Hosts who dwelleth in Mount Zion."[2]

[1] Heb. ii. 13. [2] Isaiah viii. 18.

VIII

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

SPEAKERS: THE RT. REV. BISHOP GORE, MR. G. K. CHESTERTON, MR. A. MOORE, THE REV. E. K. TALBOT

The Right Rev. BISHOP GORE, D.D.:

My friends, you are here, a great company, to reassure one another by the sympathy of a vast fellowship in holding the Catholic faith and order; to reassure one another, moreover, in holding that Catholic faith and order as the faith and order of the Church of England, a Church separated from the greater part of Western Christendom since the sixteenth century through faults and sins doubtless on both sides, just as centuries before Eastern and Western Christendom had become separated, again manifestly through faults on both sides. Nevertheless, in spite of the divisions of Christendom, we hold to what is common to all its divided portions, and we appeal from the part to the whole—to the ancient undivided Catholic Church, holding its faith and living by the sacramental light of the Holy Spirit who is its soul. In this faith, I say, you are here to reassure yourselves and one another, and as a result of such reassurance, to bear your witness to the world better, more intelligently, and more bravely.

What then is the witness of the Church? The Church is a society grounded on a Divine revelation, a positive self-disclosure of God given through the Hebrew Prophets in many parts and many manners, and consummated in Him who was more than a prophet, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, perfect God and perfect man. The faith, therefore, is a faith grounded on historical fact, and to this ground the Church must bear witness to death.

Again, the Church is the Temple of God, and must maintain its Ministry, its Sacraments, its Order, its Worship; but first of all, Christianity is a life, the life of a society, a certain distinctive moral and social life.

The Gospel is called by St. Paul and St. John and in the Acts the Word or Message of Life, a message how men ought to live, the words of this life. And the first name—never forget it—for the Christian religion eight times repeated in the New Testament is "The Way." And this is my point: it is by its moral and social life that the Church is to bear its witness and convince and convert the world: "By this shall all men know that ye are My

disciples, if ye have love one to another," that men may by your good works which they shall behold, glorify God in the day when God shall visit them. And after the first perilous moment of the Church due to the flooding in of the Gentile world—a perilous moment to which St. Paul's Epistles bear witness—the Church righted itself splendidly. Its moral witness in the early centuries was most impressive ; it was this, and neither doctrine nor order, which in the main converted the world ; and its moral level was kept up by the risk involved in becoming a Christian. In the days of persecution and slander none could become a Christian without recognising that he was embarking on a dangerous adventure. Observe the effect of this unpopularity. It threw the Christians upon their own body ; they would not on their side take part in the idolatrous rites which the whole social life around them involved, and on the other side Society boycotted them—it agreed not to buy or sell with those who would not wear its mark on their foreheads and on their right hands. Thus they were obliged to develop a social and economic life of their own, and that was the Brotherhood. Its maxims were, " All must work." " If a man will not work, neither let him eat." Next, " Work must be found, if possible, for all " ; great stress was laid on this. Thirdly, " If work cannot be found for anyone, or if he is too sick or too old to do it, he or she must be supported out of the common fund," and to maintain this common fund the principle is constantly asserted by the preachers of the faith that divine justice —justice, not charity—divine justice requires a certain equality of distribution. It is to be from each according to his capacity—to each according to his need—and the man who has more than he needs for his own support and his family's, is bound in justice to surrender it for the needs of others.

This sort of communism, you would call it, was of course voluntary ; it had nothing to do with legal compulsion. But it was strongly emphasised, and its effect was a redistribution of wealth within the Christian society. As St. James already saw, it made the poor better off, and the rich poorer. There is very little doubt that this Christian Brotherhood actually realised thus—before men's eyes—was the main instrument in converting the world.

The two other features in the moral witness of the Church which made the most impression were the witness of self-control in sexual matters, the actual purity of their men and women, and, in spite of many failures, their courage in face of death. The splendour of the moral witness of the Church for nearly three centuries led naturally to glorious anticipations of what the world would become when Christianity became triumphant. There could be no more war. There could be no more compulsion to believe. But these prophecies were largely falsified ; the prophets forgot that it was the risk involved in becoming a Christian which kept up the moral level. When the risk came to be the other way, when it required

more courage to refuse Christianity than to accept it, it is a fact that the moral level came down at a run. A hundred years or less after the peace of the Church, as the Sermons of Chrysostom and Augustine and the terrific argument of Salvian assure us, the moral level of average Christianity was perhaps no better than it is among us to-day. Apart from removal of all peril in becoming a Christian, the causes of this decline, looked at over the whole historical surface of established Christendom, were perhaps especially three. First the mistake of the Greek Church that it became intoxicated with its own intellectualism, and allowed the dogma and the intellectual formula to become so preoccupying to the mind in their endless subtlety that the moral witness, intended always to be the first thing, became submerged. Secondly, the mistake of Romanism, that is the spirit of government, authority, autocracy in Christendom. The dogma and the system of the Church became regarded largely as instruments of government.

Now to a few men in most ages, and to most men in some ages, the submission of the intellect to authority without question asked is a most difficult, and an almost impossible task; but to almost all men in some ages and to many men in all ages, it is easy to accept a religion on authority if its moral demand is fairly light—if it will guarantee salvation on easy terms. We must always recognise the splendid moral and social witness of the Religious Communities and of the Saints, and the considerable influence of the Church on trade, and on national and international life, and its witness for sexual morality; but on the whole it must be admitted that in barbarous and in civilised times before and after the Reformation, the Church of the Roman Obedience has laid its stress on submission and has offered salvation to the average Christian on very easy terms. Thus again the moral witness of the Church has been in great measure submerged.

Thirdly, the mistake of the Reformed Churches separated from Rome, and especially the Church in England. All the stress was laid on being the National Church, and on accepting the National system. This, through the lapse of ecclesiastical authority, apart from the moralising influence of the Bible, which, however, was very great in certain directions, came to mean that the moral duty of the average citizen, who was also the average Churchman, was summed up in keeping the law. Thus, in fact, the whole economic and industrial system of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was allowed to grow up as part of our national institutions, as if religion and the Church had got no words to say to it; yet from end to end it trampled on the root principles of brotherhood; it was associated with a legal system which set an infinitely higher store on property than on person, and it quite forgot the root meaning of justice.

Now we have come again to an epoch of widespread revolt against Christianity. It is first a revolt against its doctrines, often singularly ill-informed, but with this I am not at the present

moment concerned. It is also secondly a widespread moral revolt against the tremendous claim which the religion of Christ lays on that most unruly element in human nature, the sexual passions, inside marriage as well as outside it. Here there is a paramount call upon us to-day to renew and consolidate our moral and social witness; for it is both. We have to stand unflinchingly for the law of indissoluble marriage as the law for Christians, the law which must govern Church communion. And as citizens, we must do our best to keep the State law as near the Christian law as possible by seeking to show men how Christian marriage, sacramental marriage, is the safeguarding of the moral health of peoples; and we must bear our constant witness against what is too euphemistically described as birth control, which is to separate the sexual relationship from its divine purpose in the procreation of children, by mechanical means. Because both inside marriage and outside it, this practice is sinful and will ruin any nation in the long-run which adopts and allows it. And we must bear our constant witness to the duty and possibility of self-control and against the necessity and legitimacy of fornication. Now I have said my say, and I should like the witness of this great meeting in assent. Will you rise in assent to this statement of your duty to stand for the moral Christian principle of sexual purity and the indissolubility of holy matrimony? [*Prolonged applause, the whole audience standing.*]

But thirdly—and here is my chief point and my conclusion—there is another great revolt embodied in the Labour Movement, but finding expression in the minds of innumerable thoughtful men and women, whom the unhappy definition of "working people" is supposed not to include—a greater revolt against the hideous injustice in principle as well as in practice of our whole commercial and industrial system. It is declared to violate humanity—the root principle of brotherhood, that is the principle of the equal God-given right of every human being born into the world to have a fair chance to make the best of himself or herself. The cry of this revolt is "Not charity, but justice."

Now this revolt, unlike the other two, I believe to be absolutely justified and rooted in the principles of Christ. For the working out of these principles I shall dare to refer you to the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Christianity and Industrial Problems, which I beg you all to read. Believe me, to accept these principles involves not only great changes in our industrial system and in the laws which regulate the acquisition and distribution of wealth, and in the whole spirit of our law, but—what is much more—it involves a radical change in the whole social tradition and a transformation of the prejudices of all the men and women of the well-to-do classes. And—this is my great appeal—Christianity is first of all "The Way." It is first of all by its social and moral life, the life of brotherhood, that it is to bear its witness in the world. The world to-day is bewildered about its faith, but it is

asking for "The Way." It is only that sort of moral witness that will win the world to the faith of Christ. Let the Church then reorganise its moral and social witness on real and Christian principles, and let it put its moral witness again where it was intended to be, in the forefront. Let the Christian preacher become again the teacher of "The Way" before all else. Let all men understand again that to be a Christian and to continue a Christian, and to partake of the Christian sacraments, means a deliberate self-surrender, self-denial, brotherhood, equality of consideration of all other men.

This, when it is understood, may be unpopular with the Democracy as well as with the privileged classes. Jesus Christ, we remember, was rejected by the masses of the people as well as by the privileged classes. So it may be again; but let the Church once again be true to itself and express its soul. Let Christianity be understood as not a matter of course, but a great adventure. Let us appeal to the best in man, the most courageous, and not the mean and selfish element. Let us have fewer Christians if so be, but better. I am not the least afraid that if men accept the life they will in the long-run refuse the faith. Only let Christianity stand again before men's eyes as "The Way," the Brotherhood. That will mean a great revolution in our thinking and our preaching and our practice; but it is the revolution that is asked of us. It is the return to our origin, it is the will of God, and I am persuaded that it is on this field that all Christians can at once, without any danger to our principles, begin to think and act together.

Mr. G. K. CHESTERTON:

Dr. Gore, I should have very great doubt and diffidence in addressing this meeting at all for a great many different reasons, but I am somewhat comforted and relieved because of the simple and single fact that I am perfectly certain that nobody will hear a word I say. This gives a certain buoyancy and a beautiful irresponsibility to a speaker, and I assure you that I am as happy as a hermit in the wilderness. I feel that nobody is in the least likely to overhear my soliloquy. It is rather a bore for you—perhaps after all not so much a bore as if you did hear. I can only assure you that it is only in part my fault. When I was asked some considerable time ago to take part as anyone might, in what I imagined to be a debate about Labour, I had not the faintest idea that it would be at this magnificent meeting in this magnificent place, and when I discovered it—rather late, but by my own fault entirely—I did my best to implore the Secretary to allow somebody else with a voice larger than a mouse's to come and read a paper to you. But the Secretary, I may remark, is a man of a ruthless and adamantine character, and he insisted on dragging the body of the criminal into court. Well, as I say, I can only apologise to you, and if you get bored before I sit down, which will be in about five minutes, I think you will be fully justified then in storming

the platform. So long as the Secretary perishes also, I shall die content.

Now, I really and truly am going to detain you for a very short time, because, for one thing, I have only one thing to say. I feel entirely very much of an outsider among distinguished and devoted men dealing with a great business on which a journalist like myself has no particular function to speak, and a subject on which, if I may venture to say so, journalists do not generally shine. But I think I may say one word perhaps upon the general question of the Christian ideal in relation to social and labour questions, though I have really very little to add, and I think anyone must have very little to add, to the admirable summary which we have just heard from Dr. Gore.

[*From the gallery:* "Can't hear a word." *From the hall:* "He told you you wouldn't."—*Laughter.*]

Now, lest I should put that gentleman's feelings to too great a strain, I will go very shortly and simply to the very little I have to say, and it is this. As Dr. Gore has said, there are grave doubts and difficulties in the present position of the world and of religion. I have my doubts and difficulties like other people, but I have very little doubt and very little difficulty upon that one particular historical point of the relation of Christianity to economic and political problems. That is what most people seem to expect a Christian to be doubtful of or ashamed of, and that is the one point upon which, on the whole, I should be prepared to defend the Christian tradition very strongly, not only as regards the heroic age of Christianity of which Dr. Gore spoke, the very earliest ages, but even with regard to its days of political power and influence. I think that when the Christian Church was at the very height of its actual practical and political power in the Middle Ages, the world was on its way to a very much better solution of most of the political and economic problems than any of the solutions which are offered to-day. It was in process, amid all the difficulties arising from the evil of human nature, of establishing something which I think had more in it than any other human scheme of the real content of liberty, equality, and fraternity. It had more of liberty than socialism, more of equality than capitalism, and more of fraternity than either.

Now that great process was interrupted by events which are still the subject of historical and theological dispute, about which there are very real difficulties in the description; but, broadly speaking, it is true to say that the modern world began when the Middle Ages broke down, and that since the system of the Middle Ages broke down a certain non-Christian and anti-Christian spirit has been more and more the constructive and creative power in all our institutions; in other words, whatever you call it, scepticism, rationalism, worldliness, has run its own way, and done practically what it liked in an increasing degree for a considerable time. And it has made a most ghastly mess of it. All the modern problems,

all these problems you read about in the papers, whatever else they are, are certainly not the creation of the Christian tradition in any shape or form, not even of a perversion of the Christian tradition. Examples are perfectly obvious. The principal complaint to-day is not that everybody is rushing to the monasteries; it is that everybody is rushing to manufacturing towns; and that is exactly what the early rationalists told them to do. On that and a hundred other things it would be easy to quote all the rationalists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the men who contributed to create the difficulty and problem and the horrible complexity in which we now are, and I deny the right of the modern world, which has invented Capitalism, to browbeat the religion that abolished slavery. I know there are some who are filled with a very natural, and, up to a certain point, a very just and even a very Christian, hatred of anarchy which leads them to feel such disgust and dread of some of the wild forms of intellectualism applied to the political problem, that they think in a vague way that we ought to back up everything that exists, that we have only got to play the part of a conservative force if we are Christians. Now I refuse altogether to conserve an abominable thing which somebody else has invented, and I especially refuse to conserve a horrible thing that my enemy has invented. We have no reason whatever to take responsibility for the enormous industrial disproportion and industrial misery in which we live. We all accept that arduous and difficult ideal which tells us that we must forgive the crimes of our enemies, but I think it is a little too much to ask us to *confess* the crimes of our enemies. Many views have been taken of that Divine paradox about the duty of the stricken man to turn the other cheek, but nobody ever maintained that it was the duty of the stricken man to go and give himself up to a policeman on a charge of assault. It is that morbid degree of meekness, if I may so describe it, which I complain of in the merely conservative view of Christian ethics in their relation to politics. That Christian ethics will have to play a very conservative part also is obviously true. That there are among the ideals and enthusiasms which the abominable conditions have stung into existence many insane and many impossible ideals is perfectly true; but there is no conceivable reason why we should take an apologetic tone as if we had created the evils as well as opposing the false and undesirable remedies.

And now I am going to sit down after I have said one more thing. [*"Go on."*] I only want to say this. Dr. Gore has referred very truly to the moral influence which the Bible in spite of all difficulties has had upon all the races that preserved it, and I should not dream of countering that testimony in any way; but I should like to say that I think it is necessary to insist that it was in the very best period of Christian rule, in the Middle Ages, when the whole of the Catholic spirit and system were present, that the best attempt at a social solution was made. I think

so for this reason. The world will very soon be divided, unless I am mistaken, into those who still go on explaining our success, and those somewhat more intelligent who are trying to explain our failure. You know how common it was, unfortunately, in the English tradition to be perpetually explaining our success. I remember—most of us remember—a picture, I think of Queen Victoria presenting a Bible to some Indian or Afghan Chief which was called "The Secret of England's greatness." I wish to speak with all reasonable respect of a patriotic and conscientious Sovereign as well as of the more important things, but I am bound to say that I can imagine few things more bewildering or more bewildered than an Afghan's impressions of Queen Victoria's impressions of what is nothing but remote Semitic folklore when divided from the tradition which explains it and a Church to which it testifies. And I think we have got to seriously consider whether the whole of our civilisation has not been sufficiently on the decline for it to be possible some time soon for people to be looking not for the explanation of our greatness, but for the explanation of our weakness; and I hope that in some future ages there will not be shown another kind of picture, showing the ruins of Bolton Abbey or the desecrated shrine, the empty shrine of Glastonbury, with the title "The Secret of England's failure."

Mr. MOORE (President of the Silvertown Branch of the Rubber-Workers' Union) said:

I must apologise for speaking with some difficulty, but I have been attending a dentist, who has extracted all my teeth to prevent me from biting any gloomy Deans. My workmates this evening chaffingly told me to give their love to the bishop. The workers ought certainly to give their love to the bishops attending the Congress, for the workers, like Catholics, know what it is to have to fight for the things they believe in. Both the Church and Labour have in the past been too conservative. I come from what was once a sweated industry, the rubber industry. Gradually that state of things is passing away, but much remains to be done. Catholics have a duty to the poor, it is part of their creed. Bishop Gore has said that those who do not work should not eat; but they do. Either the Bishop or the feasters is wrong.

The Bishop and I do not look as if we fed much, but to-night the whole Congress have been given food for thought for those willing to accept it, and encouragement to thousands of isolated Catholics throughout the world.

In the East End there are thousands waiting for personal contact with the Saviour. I hope that one result of the Congress will be the recovery of the missionary spirit to our teeming industrial centres. In my own parish we have one priest, slaving alone to build up a great Catholic Church. One man to a great parish! The labour world would go on strike at such conditions. Such men should not be allowed to slave themselves to death as Fr.

Dolling did. Remember his words, "The jewels of the Church are not the silks and velvet of princes, but the ragged robes of the poor." In the Labour Movement I often meet men who would be jewels in the diadem of Christ, could the Church but find them and polish them and put them in their place. The Church and Labour should be in sympathy, since both are great international movements. The Church must always labour for the assistance of the workers, as it did in the great dock strike.

To-night Labour thanks you through me for all the help you have given it in the past.

When the Congress ends to-morrow we must go back to the world to be witnesses not ashamed of the truth. We must not be timid or apologise for following the way the Master taught. We must carry on the work begun by the Oxford Movement, and carried on through the dark days of persecution, when men who should have protected the defenders and teachers of the faith, attacked them. If we mean business, this Congress will bring much nearer the day when the Catholic Church of England can perform her duties and teach the Sacraments in the way the Master commanded.

The Rev. E. K. Talbot, said:

The Catholic faith is a force both conservative and revolutionary—the one because the other. Conservative because it exists to assert certain irrefragable truths as to the relation of God to man, and of man to man, and because it is bound by these to test all human movements. It is revolutionary because it must continually be on its guard against the tendency of all institutions, however great the principle which they originally expressed, to become by the sheer *vis inertiæ* the habitations of tyranny and oppression. Christians must always see to it that they are not merely adorning the graves of the prophets, instead of seeking where the Spirit of God is leading them for the sake of the conservation of God's eternal truths. Yet again the Church, because revolutionary, is also conservative: in her attitude to revolutionary movements she must guide herself by what is eternal and real. Liberty is only to be obtained by strict discipline under the guidance of God the Holy Spirit, by a change of spirit worked by grace, not by a removal of external controls.

By this renovation of the human soul under the influence of the grace of Christ Jesus our Lord, the great revolution is to be worked age after age. And to fulfil this task the Church must preserve her distinctness of method, refusing to use the weapons of the world or the secular order, and of her hope, for no merely secular order can satisfy the insatiable hunger of man after perfection, or be made permanently safe for God. Therefore the Church must always, even without waiting for any renovation of society, seek to establish the distinctness of the Christian "way" of which Bishop Gore has spoken.

Particularly Catholic Christians are called on to manifest their distinctness, not merely in the ordinary circumstances of daily life, but also in their readiness to hear that specific call that may come to many in divers ways to sell all that they have and give to the poor. Catholics are not always wide awake to listen for that call.

With this distinctness the Church must ever seek to reclaim the secular order for the kingdom of God, to raise it from the natural to the supernatural. Otherwise the Catholic faith will become the hobby of a small *coterie*, instead of a force for laying hands on the whole world, so that it shall not be a perpetual contradiction to the eternal laws of God's being. That is the challenge of the moment. Many without and within the Church feel that the existing order violates their fundamental instinct of justice, and is untrue to their aspirations after brotherhood. For instance, the wage-relation can be no final method of relationship between man and man ; yet it is that of the modern world. Many of you may be among those who will suffer the most hardly from the necessary changes which are taking place ; yet as Christians I challenge you to accept them with goodwill by the grace of God, in order to secure a better order of society than the present. We must win from the sanctuary the power which comes from God alone not merely for the Church but for the whole world which God has made for Himself.

IX

SERMON

PREACHED BY THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ALBANS, AT THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE IN SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL, ON JULY 2, 1920.

"Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord; look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged."—*Isaiah* lv. 1.

"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen."—*St. Matthew* xxviii. 18–20.

THESE words sum up the message which I have in my heart to try to give you to-night at the close of this Congress. The call, as I see it to-day, to those of us who owe allegiance to the Church in this land is, first, to believe in it as an integral part of the one Catholic Church of Christ; and, secondly, to demonstrate that belief to the world and to ourselves by being true to the letter and to the spirit of Christ's last command to His Church on earth, to preach the gospel to all nations.

For nearly seventeen years it has been my good fortune and high privilege to be allowed to serve in a province of the Anglican Communion where the Church is unestablished, self-governing, and practically unendowed, in a new country in the making, right up against the blackness of heathenism. I have seen the faith of Jesus Christ tested in a hard school. I have seen it stand the test. I have seen, too, that faith and order, to which you and I are committed as members of the Anglo-Catholic Church, tried and not found wanting. I come back to serve once again in the homeland a thousand times more convinced than I was when I left England in 1903, that the only hope for the world is Christianity, and the only hope for Christianity is the reunion of Christendom, according to the will of God; and, further, that in spite of its obviously partial and inadequate expression as we see it to-day in England, the Catholic view of faith and order which has been handed down to us in the Anglican Communion is nearer to the mind of Christ than any other view which I have ever come across. Believing this, I am convinced that with tremendous patience on our part, with great charity towards others, and with an ever-deepening sense of penitence for past neglect, and often wilful blindness, coupled with an undaunted faith in the power of the Holy Spirit

to guide those who are ready to be guided into all truth, and a reckless adventure and endeavour to be true to our Lord's last command to His Church on earth—I am convinced that the Anglican Communion is destined, under God, yet to be the rallying-point for the reunion of Christendom. That is, anyway, the faith that is in me, and to that faith I desire to bear my testimony to-night.

Three times during my service in South Africa have I been back to the old country. Three times I have returned to my work there wondering whether the Church of England would ever awake to the realisation of her glorious heritage, to the greatness of her call to rise to the ever-widening opportunities which God was giving her for service to the world. I come back this time and feel that my doubts were faithless, as I believe such doubts must always be in those who profess to believe in the inherent goodness of their fellow men, and in the living power of the Holy Spirit. I come back to find a wholly different spirit, both among clergy and laity, from anything that I have ever seen before. I come back to find the Church of England within measurable distance of being able to be and to express her true self. And, what is more, I find everywhere that I go an unmistakable desire on the part of all sorts and conditions of folk, whatever their ecclesiastical views may be, that she will use this measure of recovered freedom to the fullest possible extent for healing old sores, for laying old controversies, and for rendering greater service to the nation and the world. I thank God and take courage. The enemy may still scoff at what it calls the failure of Christianity ; but we know that Christ cannot fail, however much we may. We ourselves may at times deride and almost despair of the ineffectiveness of the Church of England ; but that ineffectiveness, my brothers, does not lie in any inherent incapacity within her to fulfil Christ's will in the world as part of His one Catholic Church, but rather in causes which can be, and, please God, will be, removed. The root of the trouble lies, I believe, in the fact that never since the Reformation, nor, indeed, for many years before that great upheaval owing to the growing assumption of the Papacy, has the Church of England had a fair chance of being or expressing her true self. Once give her that chance, and she will take it.

Consider, for instance, the question of Episcopacy, to which the Church of England is committed as the basis of order in the Catholic Church. We may argue as to whether Episcopacy is of the *esse*, or only the *bene esse* of the Church of Christ, though I confess it has always been to me a puzzle how that which is of the *bene esse* can in any real sense not also be of the *esse* of the Church. But one thing is surely clear : Episcopacy, as we have known it, and know it still to-day in the Church of England, has but the faintest possible connection with Episcopacy as it was known in the early centuries of the Christian Church, or with that Episcopal government which we can see to-day for ourselves in many parts of our own communion overseas.

Whatever else a bishop was meant to be, he was certainly never meant to be an autocrat, but a father in God to his sons and daughters in the faith. A father in God ; that is, as a fact, what he is still officially called even to-day in the formularies of the Church of England—a father : the centre of unity for the family of Christ within his own diocese. But, owing to the unwieldy size of our present dioceses, this is a practical impossibility, and the consequence is that the diocese as such, and therefore the Church in this land, as a whole, has ceased to have any real corporate life except on paper. The family feeling is hardly existent. Yet that is the basic idea of the Church of Christ. The number of clergy in his diocese has made it a physical impossibility for the bishop to know them individually, however much he may try, with the intimacy of a father, or to take counsel with them as his presbyters in synod assembled, or to keep in close personal touch with the laity to whom they are ministering. A Diocesan Conference, however useful, is but a poor substitute for the Diocesan Synod in which every priest has an equal vote, and every parish its own lay representative. And what is the result ? More and more, clergy and people have been driven to find the warmth of corporate and family life within the four corners of a necessarily narrow parochialism, or in the larger but still narrow limits of party organisation, with consequences as disastrous to the welfare of the body and to the whole conception of the catholicity of the faith of Christ as they are to the effectiveness of the Church as a fighting force in the world. Healthy differences of view, which, please God, there will always be, have become more and more accentuated and stereotyped into party shibboleths, until we are actually told by some that there are now at least two, if not three, different religions in the Church of England. Men of different views have tended to know less and less of each other, and therefore have become increasingly suspicious one of another. Never meeting together as one family, they forget that they are brethren, and controversy (we all know it) has become as embittered as it has been unedifying and undisciplined. The almost inevitable personal separation of the bishop from his clergy and people has forced him to become, or at least to appear to be, an autocrat, instead of the constitutional ruler of his diocese. Though every priest licensed by a bishop in England for service in his diocese takes a solemn oath of canonical obedience to him and his successors, yet discipline and order are at a discount, for the very simple reason that " canonical obedience " means what it says : it is obedience regulated by canon, and not obedience to any whim or fancy of any particular bishop. But nobody, not even the ecclesiastical lawyer, appears to be able to tell one which of the canons of 1603 (and so far as I know they are the latest canons we have got in this country) are operative to-day, and which are not.

But the Church, after all, is a family in a home, and the force behind the discipline in a home (and there must be discipline or the

home becomes a bear-garden) is not the force of legal enactment backed by penalties, but the force of love backed by common service and common sense. But love is impossible between parents and children who do not really know each other, or between whom there is no more than a mere nodding acquaintance—if that. Having repudiated once and for all, please God, the autocracy of one supreme bishop, we have, owing to our lack of comradeship, of family life and of discipline, in practice, drifted into the possible autocracy of many bishops, and the actual autocracy of a still greater number of parish priests. The whole thing is just about as hopeless as possible ; it is a mere burlesque of Episcopacy and Catholic order. I am not surprised that those who long ago separated from the mother Church of England, and have since then, in some cases at least, evolved an ecclesiastical order of their own which, if not theoretically Catholic, is often in practice far nearer Catholic order than that of the Church of England, has been for many years,—I am not surprised that these people are chary about accepting Episcopacy as they see it in England to-day as the basis of reunion. It may be of the *esse*, but it certainly does not appear to be of the *bene esse* of the Church of Christ.

One of the most fundamental needs of the Church of England to-day is, I am convinced, a very great increase in the Diocesan Episcopate, and to this end all who really care for the Catholicity of the Church of England, and are jealous for her fair name, should bend all their energy ; for with manageable dioceses we would regain our corporate and family life, and, with that regained, many of our present difficulties would disappear, and our effectiveness as a fighting force for Christ would be enormously increased. After all, that is the only thing that really matters.

I do not wonder that some of those whose whole ministry has been spent in the homeland, at times even now—with the larger hope opening up before us, and the finer spirit moving in the Church —get depressed and rather hopeless. But, my brothers, if you feel like that, " look unto the rock whence ye are hewn," and look out and away to the Church overseas. Starved as it is, and has been, for man-power and munitions of war, yet you can see there again and again at least a clear vision of what the Anglican, as against either the Roman or the Protestant view of faith and order, can be, and often is. I can only speak with first-hand knowledge of that province of the Anglican Communion in which I have myself had the privilege of serving ; but there at least bishops are not autocrats, but constitutional rulers of their diocese, and, in spite of the vast distances which tend to separate, I dare to say that, nevertheless, there is a far more personal relationship of father to son, and a far closer comradeship of brother to brother between them and their clergy and workers, than anything that we can see here to-day in England. The bishops are the centre of unity in the family of the Church of Christ, and the diocese is a real unit as it is meant to be.

And what of discipline and order? Canonical obedience is a real thing and understood, because it is an obedience well defined by the canons of the province and the rules and regulations of the diocese, and not merely by the whim or fancy of any bishop or, indeed, of any parish priest. These canons are enacted, amended, repealed by the Provincial Synod, by bishops, clergy, and laity representing the whole province, as the rules and regulations of the diocese are in the Diocesan Synod. The interpretation of these canons and rules is left, in the first instance (as it should be), to the bishop of the diocese sitting with his assessors in his Court; but from his judgment there is an appeal to the Metropolitan and the bishops of the province. In his own synod, again, the bishop has a veto which he can exercise over anything that is passed by the clergy and the laity; but, should he exercise it against a two-thirds majority of the vote of the other two Houses, he is bound to submit the case to the judgment of the bishops of the province sitting in synod, whose decision is final. No bishop, therefore, can play the part of an autocrat. But the very fact that bishops, clergy, and laity are brought together year by year to sit in synod—not to pass pious resolutions, but to legislate and enact for the well-being of the Church in the diocese—obviates very many difficulties which might otherwise grow into cases where the Courts might have to be called in. This meeting together for serious business tends to free debate, to free exchange of views, to a greater appreciation of one another's outlook through a more intimate knowledge one of another. And, what is more (and this, I believe, is the real thing), in the face of the common enemy you learn to put first things first; you get a better sense of proportion, and you begin to see things in their true light.

That has been done overseas, and it can, of course, be done here in the homeland—can be, and will be. The material is here, the will is here, and the spirit is here. I cannot see, my brothers, that there is any reason for despondency or despair, but every possible reason for confidence and hope. We ought to thank God, as I know we do to-night, that we live in these great days, and that our lot has been cast in such a fair ground with such glorious opportunities, fenced about with such splendid difficulties, for service to God, the country, and the world. The difficulties which lie before us, of course, are many, and extraordinarily intricate and complex. Patience obviously will be needed—great patience, but great confidence too; for patience is begotten of confidence. Confident we can be, for we know in whom we trust, we know the rock whence we are hewn; we know that the Spirit is here waiting to lead us into all truth, and to give us the power equal to each and every task. Patient we must be; but patience does not mean resignation, or inactivity. But it does mean a clear appreciation of the many factors in the situation before us, and a resolute resolve not to overlook them.

One big factor is the national characteristic of the Britisher, and

that is, that he will not be driven or dragooned—thank God for it ; he is a free man, and he knows it, and he is not going to part with that freedom to anyone—and I hope he won't. Remember, I beg you, that in England you are dealing with English folk, and they are worth dealing with.

Another factor is party. For years we have done our best to accentuate party differences. It is foolish to expect that they will disappear by one stroke of the pen—they won't—" As a man soweth, so shall he reap," and " Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." Blood-shedding hurts, and the hurt we must bear, and bear gladly. There is one thing alone which can heal our wounds and make good our divisions, not on the surface but right to the root, and that is the Spirit of the Living Christ, the spirit of charity and goodwill, the spirit of clear thinking and fearless facing of facts, the spirit of reckless adventure in the cause of the Kingdom. We must really give up talking about three, or even two, different religions in the Church of England. It does no good—besides, it is not true, or only true purely superficially. I cannot understand how anyone who has been up against the blackness of heathendom can talk such stuff. I know our differences are great, and I do not wish to minimise them, but they are as nothing to the difference between those who unfeignedly believe in our Lord Jesus Christ as the one Saviour of mankind, and the darkness and ignorance of the heathen world.

Again, in our desire to uphold " the faith once delivered to the saints," we must beware lest we should be fighting not against men but against God, by placing obstacles in the way of ourselves or others in seeking to carry out an integral part of the first great command to " love the Lord thy God with all thy mind." Thinking aloud, and thinking in print still more, has no doubt its dangers, but " No man " (so St. Paul tells us), " can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Spirit." And there is, I am convinced, a still greater danger than thinking aloud, or even thinking in print, and that is not thinking at all. I believe in the Holy Ghost, and so do you. I believe He will lead us into all truth, but I do not believe He will drag us there against our will. We have got to follow on of our own free choice and seek the truth under His guidance diligently till we find it ; and in the process we, as well as others, are pretty sure to make some mistakes. The more I have seen " the faith once delivered to the saints " tested by hard facts of experience or by knowledge gained through scientific research, the more convinced have I become that it stands the test every time as the one faith for life. However old it is, through the living inspiration of the Spirit of God working through men and women of single-minded purpose and goodwill, that same faith is ever new, and in it can still be found the one true solution of all life's problems, however modern. The spirit of charity, clear thinking, and reckless adventure—that is the spirit, brothers, in which alone the Church of England can and, I believe, will once again recover her true Catholic character ; not

merely by the recovery of her freedom to express herself, but by using that recovered freedom to demonstrate to the world that she is no mere insular sect with leanings at times to Catholicism, and at others to Protestantism, and more or less always to Erastianism, but an integral part of the one Catholic Church of Christ planted in this land of ours over 1,600 years ago. There is only one way of demonstrating that, and that is by claiming her great evangelical heritage to spread the gospel to every nation. "Look unto the rock," then, "whence ye are hewn," and give up doubting either yourselves or your heritage, and go into the world and preach the Catholic faith of Christ to all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues.

We stand to-day amid the ruins of a shattered and a broken world, but in Christ we believe lies the one solution of all the problems with which we are faced—industrial, social, political, economic, national, racial, international, and ecclesiastical. It is for us to show the reality of our faith in Him by seeking to commend His message to the hearts and consciences and reasons of men by a fearless witness to the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, by standing courageously for the moral law as the law of God revealed in Christ, and by going on bearing our witness before men, whether they hear, or whether they forbear. In Catholic faith and order applied to the ever-changing circumstances of life and man's need, we believe lie Christ's means and method for establishing His Kingdom throughout the world. Prove, then, the reality of that faith by flinging back the taunt so often, and, alas! sometimes with such good cause, flung at us, that we have no time for such things as the evangelisation of the heathen, or for helping to keep white men white in distant lands; that we are so taken up with providing ourselves, and a few disciples of a certain type of mentality, with spiritual luxuries, that we cannot spare any priests to go out and give the sacraments even to our brethren overseas who are starving for them, or that we are so immersed in controversy about things which may be real, but are certainly of secondary importance compared with fighting the great triple alliance of the world, the flesh and the devil, in the strongholds of heathenism, that we have no energy left to go on with the war, or the adventure to go ourselves, or the money to spare to help others to go and to see them through when they get there.

Thank God that a very definite step has been taken by this Congress to fling back that taunt. We thank God for that to-night, and for the fine spirit of adventure, sacrifice, clear thinking, generous enterprise, close comradeship, renewed faith, larger hope, quiet confidence, and resolute resolve which this great gathering has evinced. We thank God for the goodly heritage which is ours, and for the gallant way in which that heritage has been preserved and safeguarded for us by those who have gone before, and by many who are with us in the flesh to-day. And now it is left to each one of us to go back to our several callings with fresh

faith, and rekindled hope, and a high resolve to demonstrate in action to the world at large the reality of the faith we hold, and of the gratitude which we feel to-night, by the one way which will convince the world—by giving to others generously with both hands that which we have ourselves received, and claim to value above all else in life.

This we can only do through the reconsecration of ourselves to God in the freedom of willing service, in the gaiety of reckless sacrifice, and in the comradeship of this great adventure for the Kingdom of the living Christ.

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